Frontispeice

TIME presenting TRUTH to HISTORY.

PLUTARCH's LIVES,

Abridged from the

ORIGINAL GREEK,

Illuſtrated with

NOTES and REFLECTIONS,

And embelliſhed with

COPPER-PLATE PRINTS.

VOLUME the FIRST.

Containing the LIVES of

PLUTARCH,	SOLON.
THESEUS,	P. VAL. POPLICOLA,
ROMULUS,	THEMISTOCLES,
LYCURGUS,	and
NUMA,	FURIUS CAMILLUS.

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BRITISH
MUSEUM

THE

PREFACE.

BIOGRAPHY has, ever ſince the days of *Plutarch*, been conſidered as the moſt uſeful manner of writing, not only from the pleaſure it affords the imagination, but from the inſtruction it artfully and unexpectedly conveys to the underſtanding. It furniſhes us with an opportunity of giving advice freely, and without offence. It not only removes the dryneſs and dogmatical air of precept, but ſets perſons,

actions, and their conſequences before us in the moſt ſtriking manner; and by that means turns even precept into example: Whence ariſes the propriety of placing theſe volumes in the hands of youth.

THE perverſeneſs, folly, and pride of men, ſeldom ſuffer advice that is given in the common manner to prove effectual; nor is it a wonder; for though there is no action in life that requires greater delicacy, yet are there few which are conducted with leſs.— The advice of parents and preceptors is generally given in an auſtere and authoritative manner, which deſtroys the feelings of affection, and that of friends, by being too frequently mixed with aſperity and reproof, ſeems rather calculated to exalt their own wiſdom, than amend our lives, and has too much the appearance of a triumph over our defects. Beſides this, friends are very unreaſonable in their expectations: every one

one who gives his friend advice, expects him to purſue it; not conſidering that others have counſelled him, perhaps, in a different manner; and that, if he was to oblige them all, he would be guilty of actions the moſt inconſiſtent and contradictory. It is the intereſt indeed of every man to take counſel of his friends; but it is his duty to weigh their ſeveral opinions, to place their arguments in oppoſition, like an account that is to be balanced, and then to judge and determine for himſelf.

But this ſort of commerce between friends is too often diſingenuous and fallacious. Men frequently aſk advice with no other view, but to make their friends approve of their opinion; and, in ſome meaſure, accountable for their miſconduct; and thoſe who give it, have generally an eye to their own intereſt, or to the advancement of their own reputation;

at leaſt, while intereſt and pride ſubſiſt, the dictates of friends will be liable to theſe ſuſpicions.

COUNSELS, therefore, as well as compliments, are beſt conveyed in an indirect and oblique manner; and this renders biography, as well as fable, a moſt convenient vehicle for inſtruction.

AN ingenious gentleman of my acquaintance, when aſked what was the beſt leſſon for youth? anſwered, *The life of a good man:* being aſked, what was the next beſt? replied, *The life of a bad one*; for, that the firſt would make him in love with virtue, and teach him how to conduct himſelf through life, ſo as to become an ornament to ſociety, and a bleſſing to his family and friends; and the laſt would point out the hateful and horrid conſequences of vice, and make him careful to avoid thoſe actions which appeared ſo deteſtable in others.

As

As the uſe of biography, and the duty of a biographer, are ſo excellently ſet forth in the *Rambler*, by Mr. *Samuel Johnſon*, who, from his great knowledge of the human mind, has the art of exhauſting every argument, and of ſeeing, as it were, at one view, every thing that can be ſaid on any ſubject, I ſhall give the reader his opinion, and in his own words.

" All joy or ſorrow for the happineſs or calamities of others, is produced by an act of the imagination, that realizes the event, however fictitious, or approximates it, however remote, by placing us, for a time, in the condition of him whoſe fortune we contemplate; ſo that we feel, while the deception laſts, whatever motions would be excited by the ſame good or evil happening to ourſelves.

" Our

"OUR paſſions are therefore more ſtrongly moved, in proportion as we can more readily adopt the pains or pleaſure propoſed to our minds, by recognizing them as once our own, or conſidering them as naturally incident to our ſtate of life. It is not eaſy for the moſt artful writer to give us an intereſt in the happineſs or miſery, which we think ourſelves never likely to feel, and with which we have never yet been made acquainted; hiſtories of the downfall of kingdoms, and revolutions of empires, are read with great tranquillity; the imperial tragedy pleaſes common auditors only by its pomp of ornament, and grandeur of ideas; and the man whoſe faculties have been engroſſed by buſineſs, and whoſe heart never fluttered, but at the riſe or fall of ſtocks, wonders how the attention can be ſeized, or the affection agitated by a tale of love.

THOSE

"THOSE parallel circumſtances, and kindred images, to which we readily conform our minds, are, above all other writings, to be found in narratives of the lives of particular perſons; and therefore, no ſpecies of writing ſeems more worthy of cultivation than biography, ſince none can be more delightful, or more uſeful, none can more certainly enchain the heart by irreſiſtible intereſt, or more widely diffuſe inſtruction to every diverſity of condition.

"THE general and rapid narratives of hiſtory, which involve a thouſand fortunes in the buſineſs of a day, and complicate innumerable incidents in one great tranſaction, afford few leſſons applicable to private life, which derives its comforts, and its wretchedneſs, from the right or wrong management of things, which

which nothing but their frequency makes conſiderable, *Parva, ſi non fiunt quotidie*, ſays Pliny; and which can have no place in thoſe relations, which never deſcend below the conſultation of ſenates, the motions of armies, and the ſchemes of conſpirators.

" I have often thought that there has rarely paſſed a life, of which a judicious and faithful narrative would not be uſeful. For, not only every man has, in the mighty maſs of the world, great numbers in the ſame condition with himſelf, to whom his miſtakes and miſcarriages, eſcapes and expedients, would be of immediate and apparent uſe; but there is ſuch an uniformity in the ſtate of man, conſidered apart from adventitious and ſeparable decorations and diſguiſes, that there is ſcarce any poſſibility of good or ill, but is common to human kind. A great part of

of the time of thoſe who are placed at the greateſt diſtance by fortune, or by temper, muſt unavoidably paſs in the ſame manner; and though, when the claims of nature are ſatisfied, caprice, and vanity, and accident, begin to produce diſcriminations and peculiarities, yet the eye is not very heedful, or quick, which cannot diſcover the ſame cauſes ſtill terminating their influence in the ſame effects, though ſometimes accelerated, ſometimes retarded, or perplexed by multiplied combinations. We are all prompted by the ſame motives, all deceived by the ſame fallacies, all animated by hope, obſtructed by danger, entangled by deſire, and ſeduced by pleaſure.

"It is frequently objected to relations of particular lives, that they are not diſtinguiſhed by any ſtriking or wonderful viciſſitudes. The ſcholar, who paſſed his life among his books; the merchant, who

who conducted only his own affairs; the prieſt, whoſe ſphere of action was not extended beyond that of his duty, are conſidered as no proper objects of publick regard, however they might have excelled in their ſeveral ſtations; whatever might have been their learning, integrity, and piety. But this notion ariſes from falſe meaſures of excellence and dignity, and muſt be eradicated, by conſidering, that in the eſteem of uncorrupted reaſon, what is of moſt uſe is of moſt value.

"It is, indeed, not improper to take honeſt advantages of prejudice, and to gain attention by a celebrated name; but the buſineſs of the biographer is often to paſs ſlightly over thoſe performances and incidents, which produce vulgar greatneſs, to lead the thoughts into domeſtick privacies, and diſplay the minute details of daily life, where exterior appendages are caſt aſide, and men excel each other only by

by prudence, and by virtue. The account of *Thuanus* is, with great propriety, ſaid by its author to have been written, that it might lay open to poſterity the private and familiar character of that man, *Cujus ingenium & candorem ex ipſius ſcriptis ſunt olim ſemper miraturi*, whoſe candour and genius will, to the end of time, be by his writings preſerved in admiration.

"THERE are many inviſible circumſtances, which, whether we read, as enquirers after natural or moral knowledge, whether we intend to enlarge our ſcience, or increaſe our virtue, are more important than publick occurrences. Thus *Salluſt*, the great maſter of nature, has not forgot, in his account of *Cataline*, to remark, that his walk was now quick, and again ſlow, as an indication of a mind revolving ſomething with violent commotion. Thus the ſtory of *Melancthon* affords a ſtriking lecture on the value of time, by informing

us, that, when he made an appointment, he expected not only the hour, but the minute to be fixed; that the day might not run out in the idleneſs of ſuſpenſe; and all the plans and enterprizes of *De Wit*, are now of leſs importance to the world, than that part of his perſonal character, which repreſents him as careful of his health, and negligent of his life.

"But biography has often been allotted to writers, who ſeem very little acquainted with the nature of their taſk, or very negligent about the performance. They rarely afford any other account than might be collected from publick papers, but imagine themſelves writing a life, when they exhibit a chronological ſeries of actions or preferments; and ſo little regard the manners or behaviour of their heroes, that more knowledge may be gained of a man's real character by a ſhort converſation with one of his ſervants, than

than from a formal and ſtudied narrative, begun with his pedigree, and ended with his funeral.

"If now and then they condeſcend to inform the world of particular facts, they are not always ſo happy as to ſelect the moſt important. I know not well what advantage poſterity can receive from the only circumſtance by which *Tickell* has diſtinguiſhed *Addiſon* from the reſt of mankind, the irregularity of his pulſe; nor can I think myſelf overpaid for the time ſpent in reading the life of *Malherb*, by being enabled to relate, after the learned biographer, that *Malherb* had two predominant opinions; one, that the looſeneſs of a ſingle woman might deſtroy all her boaſt of ancient deſcent; the other, that the *French* beggars made uſe very improperly and barbarouſly of the phraſe, *Noble Gentleman*, becauſe either word included the ſenſe of both.

"THERE are, indeed, ſome natural reaſons why theſe narratives are often written by ſuch as were not likely to give much inſtruction or delight; and why moſt accounts of particular perſons are barren and uſeleſs.

"If a life be delayed till intereſt and envy are at an end, we may hope for impartiality, but muſt expect little intelligence; for the incidents which give excellence to biography are of a volatile and evaneſcent kind, ſuch as ſoon eſcape the memory, and are rarely tranſmitted by tradition. We know how few can portray a living acquaintance, except by his moſt prominent and obſervable particularities, and the groſſer features of his mind; and it may be eaſily imagined how much of this little knowledge may be loſt in imparting it, and how ſoon a ſucceſſion of copies will loſe all reſemblance of the original.

"If

" If the biographer writes from perſonal knowledge, and makes haſte to gratify the public curioſity, there is danger leſt his intereſt, his fear, his gratitude, or his tenderneſs, overpower his fidelity, and tempt him to conceal, if not to invent. There are many who think it an act of piety, to hide the faults or failings of their friends, even when they can no longer ſuffer by their detection; we therefore ſee whole ranks of characters adorned with uniform panegyrick, and not to be known from one another, but by extrinſick and caſual circumſtances. " Let me remember, ſays *Hale*, when I find myſelf inclined to pity a criminal, that there is likewiſe a pity due to the country." If we owe regard to the memory of the dead, there is yet more reſpect to be paid to knowledge, to virtue, and to truth."

In the courſe of this work, all thoſe actions which are uſually called great and

glorious, but which are productive of the moſt miſchievous effects, will be particularly conſidered, ſtript of their captivating glare, and reduced to the ſtandard of reaſon and of juſtice.

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THE

THE

LIFE

OF

PLUTARCH.

HISTORIANS who confer immortality on others are ſeldom requited by poſterity; and while they mark the characters and genius of men and nations, are themſelves frequently unknown and forgotten. It is the ingratitude of mankind to their greateſt benefactors, that while equivocal merit is acknowledged and praiſed, true benevolence and wiſdom lives frequently poor and unregarded.

Our author, however, experienced a better fate, he was born in an age, which was ſenſible of his virtue, and found a *Trajan* to diſcern, and to recompence his excellence. But though his fortune was illuſtrious, yet his memory has been but ill preſerved; his countrymen and cotemporaries have taken no care to

throw lights upon his character: the works he has left behind, are the only inlets we have into his life and actions.

He was born at *Chæronea*, a ſmall city of *Bœotia*, in *Greece*, between *Attica* and *Phocis*, and reaching to both ſeas. This country was remarkable for the thick and foggy air, which continually exhaled from the fenny grounds, of which it was compoſed. The qualities of the climate communicated themſelves to the inhabitants; and the men of *Bœotia* were noted for being dull and phlegmatic, groſs feeders, robuſt conſtitutions, unthinking, cut out only for the executive and brutal buſineſs of war. There are three men, however, remarkable for being born here, *Pindar*, *Epaminondas*, and *Plutarch* the ſubject of the preſent memoir.

The year in which our Philoſopher was born is uncertain, but it ſeems agreed, that it was ſome time in the reign of *Claudius* the *Roman* Emperor. From his own works we learn, that his family was very ancient, and that for many deſcents, they had borne the moſt conſiderable offices of the petty commonwealth, in which he was born. His great-grandfather *Nichearchus* enjoyed the higheſt office of the ſtate, when the *Roman* empire was divided between *Auguſtus* and *Anthony*. When the flame of civil war broke out between thoſe two ravagers of mankind, *Chæronea*, our Philoſopher's native city, was treated with ſuch cruelty by *Anthony*'s Lieutenant, that the citizens were obliged to undergo the moſt menial and ſlaviſh employments, while their inſulting conquerors with whips

whips in their hands threatened ſuch as appeared remiſs, and forced them to labour. But this terrible ſervitude ended with the fortunes of *Anthony:* upon his loſing the battle of *Actium*, both the officers and ſoldiers belonging to him in *Chæronea* fled for their own ſafety, and left the little republic once more to cultivate their native freedom, and enjoy the primitive privileges of humanity.

Nichearchus, the great-grandfather of *Plutarch*, had, among other ſons, *Lamprias*, equally famous for his learning and philoſophy. It was particularly remarkable in him, that he diſputed beſt, and unravelled the difficulties of ſcience with moſt ſucceſs when at ſupper, and exhilerated by wine. This convival feſtivity was a part of the education of thoſe times. Their diſcourſes were generally the diſcuſſion of ſome topic, either in arts or philoſophy; always inſtructive, uſually pleaſant; the glaſs went round with the debate, and men became wiſe while they only ſeemed to court entertainment.

But though we know thus much of our hiſtorian's anceſtors, yet we can trace very little concerning his father; his very name is no where mentioned in hiſtory. His ſon indeed mentions him as a man tinctured with the liberal arts, and of his prudence, he has given us a very ſtriking inſtance in the following relation. "Being yet very young (ſays "*Plutarch*, ſpeaking of himſelf) I was joined "in commiſſion with another in an embaſſy "to the Proconſul; but my colleague falling "ſick was forced to ſtay behind, ſo that the

" whole buſineſs devolved upon me. At my " return, when I was to give an account to the " commonwealth of my proceedings; my fa- " ther riſing from his ſeat, openly enjoined me " not to name myſelf in the ſingular number: " *I did thus, or thus I ſaid*; *but thus we did, or* " *thus we ſaid:* always aſſociating my compa- " nion with me, though abſent in the manage- " ment." This was an excellent expedient at once to reſtrain the vanity of a young forward miniſter, ſuch as *Plutarch* might probably have then been; and to moderate that envy, which ever attends ſucceſs, by aſcribing part of it to another.

The prudence of his father ſhines not leſs in this inſtance than in the excellent manner of conducting and promoting the education of his children. He had a large family, and his ſons were particularly inſtructed in the liberal ſciences, and in all parts of philoſophy. Nothing but harmony and friendſhip reigned through the whole: *Plutarch* profeſſes, that though fortune had on ſeveral occaſions been favourable to him, yet he could thank her for nothing greater than for the friendſhip of his brother *Timon*. *Lamprias*, another of his brothers, is deſcribed as one whoſe converſation was capable of enlivening ſociety, and of giving an air of elegance to the ſeverity of wiſdom. The whole family being thus united in the cloſeſt bonds of friendſhip, and tutored in all the learning of the times, it is not ſurprizing that *Plutarch* came to make ſuch a diſtinguiſhed figure among his cotemporaries.

But

But perhaps his greateſt advantage aroſe from being put under the tuition of *Ammonius* the *Egyptian*. This Philoſopher had taught with great reputation at *Alexandria*, and from thence travelling into *Greece*, took up his reſidence at *Athens*, where merit generally procured a proper reception. In the houſe of *Ammonius*, our hiſtorian was a penſioner, and from him he received the rudiments of learning. The method of education then was very different from what we at preſent find it. Several years among us are ſpent in learning the words of dead languages. The *Grecians* diſdained every other language but their own; and to the cultivation of that they bent with the cloſeſt aſſiduity. The maſters in general ſtudied to make inſtruction pleaſing; and philoſophical queſtions, and criticiſms in humanity, were the uſual recreation of their youth at meals. Boys lived then as the better ſort of men do now: they were prepared for an intercourſe with the world before they were ſuffered to embark in it. Rods and ſtripes were diſdained by *Ammonius*, as being properly the puniſhment of ſlaves, and none but parents could preſume to exerciſe ſuch a degrading authority.

From ſuch an education, and under ſuch a maſter, *Plutarch* in a few years advanced ſurprizingly in knowledge. And as far as the extent of *Greek* erudition reached, for he ſeemed to deſpiſe the *Latin*, none perhaps before or ſince could equal or exceed him. In the direction of his ſtudies, he ſo managed his diet and exerciſe, that he preſerved his parts vigorous

and entire to extreme age: being thus the friend not leſs of ſociety, than himſelf. Nature had furniſhed him with a ſtrong conſtitution; but temperance in every pleaſure, and an habitude of commanding all his paſſions, fixed him in that ſtate of health, which only makes life a valuable poſſeſſion.

Thus principled and grounded, he conſidered with himſelf, that a more extenſive communication with learned men was neceſſary for his accompliſhment. He therefore undertook a journey into *Egypt*, a country long famous for the education of Philoſophers, and the wiſdom of its conſtitution. From *Egypt* returning to *Greece*, he viſited in his way all the academies, or ſchools of the ſeveral philoſophers; and gathered from them many of thoſe obſervations, with which he has enriched poſterity. His converſation with the learned contributed not only to enlarge his mind, but to repreſs his vanity. All knowledge is relative, and every man is called wiſe only when compared with his more ignorant fellow creatures. But to perfect himſelf in every branch of ſcience that was then attainable, he took a particular journey to *Sparta*, to ſearch the archives of that famous commonwealth, and thoroughly to comprehend the model of their ancient conſtitution.

By theſe means he enlarged the bounds, and, if I may ſo expreſs it, the land-marks of ſcience. He himſelf makes mention of thoſe collections of common places which he had long ſince put together for his private uſe and entertainment;

tertainment: from this rich ſtore-houſe he has drawn thoſe precious materials which he has diſtributed to poſterity, and which ſerve to excite our regret for the loſs of thoſe other pieces, which either the injury of time, or the negligence of copiers have denied us. Such is his excellence in theſe pieces we have, that thoſe which are loſt may juſtly be deemed an irreparable misfortune to the lovers of learning.

Finding that there were many ſects of Philoſophers then in vogue, he examined the principles of each. *Plato* ſeemed the Philoſopher that he was chiefly inclined to follow; he reverenced his memory to ſuch a degree, that he annually celebrated his birth-day, and that of *Socrates* his maſter: yet he ſtill kept himſelf diſengaged from the narrow principles of a ſect; and weighed opinions, without preſuming dogmatically to decide. To conſider human action, to enter into the principles of juſtice or iniquity, appeared to him ſubjects that were moſt conducive to the benefit of ſociety. After the example of *Socrates* he found, that the ſpeculations of natural philoſophy were rather delightful, than ſolid and profitable; that they were abſtruſe and thorny, and ended only in ſatisfying curioſity, rather than in mending the heart. Mathematics indeed could reward his pains with certainty; but tho' they made him more knowing, they little contributed to encreaſe his virtues; they were therefore allotted for his recreation, not his buſineſs. He uſually propoſed ſome problem to be canvaſſed at ſupper; for all his pleaſures were ſtrengthened by wiſdom, and

all

all his philoſophy was gilded by amuſement. He was not ſo auſtere as to deſpiſe riches; but being poſſeſſed of a large fortune, he lived with ſplendour, though not profuſion; his own wants were few, and the wants of his friends and fellow creatures exhauſted the ſuperfluity.

The religion he profeſſed was Paganiſm, tho' Chriſtianity had been propagated in his time over almoſt the whole earth; yet it made but few advances among the profeſſors of philoſophy. Attached to ancient ſyſtems, they only deſired to cultivate the virtue they found in the world, not to introduce another ſyſtem of morals productive of virtues more ſublime and more new. He was a Prieſt of *Apollo*, as himſelf acknowledges, but probably only complied with the received cuſtoms of his country; being of opinion, that ſpeculation ſhould never introduce diſobedience. But though he was no Chriſtian, he is no where found to ſpeak diſreſpectfully of our holy religion, like other writers of his age, and thoſe who ſucceeded him. *Theodoret* ſays, *that* Plutarch *had heard of our holy goſpel, and inſerted many of our ſacred myſteries in his works:* however, his knowledge in the preſent caſe ſeemed not able to influence his faith; he either thought the doctrines of revelation not worth weighing, or rejected them when weighed.

But leaving the ſoul of this Philoſopher, with a wiſh for its happineſs: his opinions were in general borrowed from *Plato*, with a tincture of the *Eclectic* ſect, which was introduced by *Potamon* under the empire of *Auguſtus*, and which pretty nearly

nearly reſembles that lately revived by *Newton* and *Locke*. Not adhering implicitly to the opinions of any leader, they ſelected ſuch as they imagined moſt conſonant to reaſon; and each followed and delivered the *truth* at it appeared in his own eyes.

With reſpect to a man ſo celebrated as *Plutarch*, no circumſtance is too minute for hiſtory: the reader naturally deſires to know his moſt private concerns; and even indifferent actions become remarkable from the ſanction of ſo great a perſonage. Let me then next proceed to his marriage, though his wife's name or parentage have been no where mentioned by him, or ſucceeding hiſtorians. One of his commentators has ingeniouſly gathered from a paſſage in *Plutarch*, that his wife's name muſt have been *Timoxena*; becauſe, in a conſolatory letter to her, occaſioned by the death of their daughter in her infancy, he uſes theſe words, *Death has deprived your* Timoxena *of ſmall enjoyments; her pleaſures were but few, and ſhe could at beſt be delighted with trifles. Timoxena*, therefore, was the name of the daughter; and we find by the letter that his wife and daughter had the ſame name. But not to inſiſt upon trifles, her virtues have been celebrated by him, though her name is paſſed over in ſilence. Her knowledge, her conjugal fidelity, her conſtancy, and modeſty are highly extolled, and ſerve at once as an example to and a panegyric upon her ſex.

The number of his children was at leaſt five ſo many being mentioned by him. Four of them

them were ſons, and *Timoxena* alone of the other ſex, who died in early childhood; and of his ſons, two only are ſuppoſed to have ſurvived him. The name of one was *Plutarch*, after his own, and that of the other *Lamprias*, after that of his grandfather. This was he of all his children who ſeemed to have inherited his father's genius and paſſion for philoſophy. To him we owe the catalogue of *Plutarch*'s works, and perhaps alſo the apothegms. Beſides theſe relatives, he had a nephew called *Sextus Chæroneus*, who was in high eſteem with *Marcus Aurelius*, and who taught that excellent Emperor *Greek* and Philoſophy: and as this Monarch was, as appears from his works, a profeſſor of Stoiciſm, it is apparent that his inſtructor was of the ſame ſect; which, though the moſt ſevere, was yet certainly the moſt virtuous of antiquity.

Among the number of relations which have been aſcribed to our hiſtorian, ſome are willing to rank the great critic *Longinus*. They ſay, that he was deſcended from a ſiſter of his, but the proofs are ſo weak, that they ſcarce demand a ſerious refutation. Both have merit enough of their own, without relying on the feeble helps of family for any acceſſion. His own virtues were ſufficient to create the eſteem of his cotemporaries, and ſecure the admiration of poſterity. His character appears to be an aſſemblage of very humane and benevolent affections. His love to his wife, his indulgence to his children, his care of their education, are all manifeſt in that part of his works called his

Morals

Morals. He was not only free from inconſtancy; but anger, and a deſire of revenge. Theſe qualities have been praiſed by the authority of other writers; but his own teſtimony of himſelf will give us further certainty. I had rather, ſays he, be blotted from the memory of man, and that it ſhould be ſaid, ſuch a man never did exiſt, than that they ſhould report him inconſtant, changeable, prone to anger, and ready to revenge.

But his tenderneſs to his ſlaves was a ſufficient inſtance of the goodneſs of his diſpoſition towards his equals. It is obſerved by a ſenſible writer, that the beſt method of knowing any perſon's real diſpoſition, is by examining the treatment which they gave thoſe who were ſubject to their control. To ſuch, the mind off its guard, indulges every caprice, and expands all its inſolence and vanity. *Plutarch* takes ſome pains to upbraid thoſe maſters, who uſe their ſervants as their oxen, and ſell them in old age when capable of no longer ſervice. A man, ſays he, of a merciful diſpoſition, ought not to retrench the fodder from his cattle, nor the provender from his horſes, when they can work no longer; but to cheriſh them when worn out and old.

Unbounded lenity is, however, a fault; correction is requiſite to teach the ignorant their duty, and bring them to a juſt ſenſe of ſubordination. *Plutarch* knew how to moderate his anger; yet he was not ſo paſſive as to be inſenſible of injury. *Aulus Gellius* gives us the following

lowing ſtory, which he had from *Taurus* the Philoſopher, concerning him. Vol. I.

Plutarch had a certain ſlave, obſtinate and impudent, ever committing faults, and as conſtantly excuſing them. Tired out with his tranſgreſſions, his maſter was at length compelled to order him to be whipped, the uſual chaſtiſement of ſlaves. The delinquent no ſooner felt the ſmart, but he arraigned the juſtice of his puniſhment; and inſiſted, that he had done nothing to deſerve ſuch ſeverity. From expoſtulation he proceeded to argument; and having acquired ſome ſkill in diſputation under ſuch a maſter, he averred that *Plutarch* was only a pretended Philoſopher; that he had heard him condemning all the paſſions as deſtructive to happineſs, and that he had actually written a treatiſe in praiſe of clemency, but that he now contradicted his precepts by his practice; and abandoning himſelf to his impetuous dictators, exerciſed the moſt inhuman cruelty on his fellow creatures. Ignorant man! returned *Plutarch*, can you perceive any of the ſigns of paſſion either in my face, voice, or geſtures? do my eyes ſparkle? do I foam at the mouth? do I gnaſh my teeth? is my voice more vehement, or my colour more pale or more red than uſual? Theſe are the ſymptoms of paſſion; I perceive myſelf free from them, and for that reaſon alone think myſelf qualified to puniſh your crimes.

Plutarch was a profeſſed Stoic, as we may gather from this ſtory; yet that ſyſtem of philoſophy, which in general contributed to ſour the

PLUTARCH with great Mildneſs correct-ing his Slave.

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the diſpoſition of ſome, no ways diminiſhed his good nature. His love to his friends, and his gratitude to his benefactors, are obſervable in ſeveral of his dedications. The particular treatiſes he has written to many of his acquaintance, are all ſuitable either to the characters of the men, or to their preſent condition, or the circumſtances under which they were.

His love to his country may alſo be ranked among the number of his virtues: he was a member of a little commonwealth; and the love of a ſubject is generally greater, in proportion to the minuteneſs of his country. He even wrote the life of *Lucullus*, who had done his little city ſome ſignal ſervices, rather from a motive of gratitude, than from any peculiar celebrity in his character. Though the favours his country had received were long ſince paſt, yet he thought it incumbent on him to repay them: and he took a particular intereſt in their acknowledgments. He not only thanked ſuch as had done his country ſervices, but even oppoſed thoſe who attempted to aſperſe it with national reflections. *Herodotus*, the hiſtorian, fell for this reaſon under his peculiar reprehenſion. Though this father of hiſtory had ſaid nothing of the *Bœotians*, more than had been univerſally acknowledged by others, and only called their wit and voracity in queſtion, yet *Plutarch* attacked him with perhaps more malignity than he had attacked the *Bœotians*. But they may both ſtand acquitted on different accounts. The character *Herodotus* gave of the *Thebans* might be true when he wrote; the diſpoſitions of the

inhabitants might eaſily be changed in the revolution of ſome centuries; and thus the old hiſtorian's character might have become unjuſt, if applied in the times of *Plutarch*. Thus all the faults of our hiſtorian may be eaſily pardoned, except his proneneſs to ſuperſtition, and his attempts to regulate his actions by dreams. How far this may bear an accuſation, is immaterial; but certain it is, that though it may be no real reproach to his morals, it may be ſome to his wiſdom.

On what occaſion he repaired to *Rome*, at what time of his age he came thither, how long he dwelt there, how often he was there, and in what year he returned to his own country, are all uncertain. This we know, that when *Nero* was in *Greece*, our author was at *Delphos* under the tuition of *Ammonius*, whom we have mentioned before. However that be, certain it is, that no Philoſopher could be more careſſed at *Rome* than he upon his arrival. He was invited thither by the correſpondence he had with *Soſſius Senecio*; and the concourſe of nobility to hear him read, was at once an inſtance of their refinement, and his reputation. He tells us himſelf, that upon a certain occaſion, probably when *Titus* was Emperor, lecturing at *Rome*, and ſurrounded by the nobility, *Arulenus Ruſticus*, the ſame man whom *Domitian* afterwards put to death, being jealous of his exalted virtue, was one of the number of his auditors. It ſo happened, continues he, that a ſoldier with letters from the Emperor broke through the crowd to deliver them to *Arulenus*. Obſerving

ſerving this, I made a pauſe in my diſſertation, that *Ruſticus* might have leiſure to read the mandate which was ſent him. But this, he abſolutely refuſed, nor would he break the ſeals till I had wholly made an end of my ſpeech, and diſmiſſed the company.

So favourable a reception at *Rome*, was probably an inducement to him to repeat the viſit. It appears that he was ſeveral times in that city, and perhaps before he came to inhabit there, his acquaintance began with *Senecio*, to whom almoſt all his biographical pieces were dedicated. This worthy patron and friend of *Plutarch*, was four times Conſul. The firſt time in the ſhort reign of *Nerva*, a virtuous and learned Emperor, in the year of *Chriſt* ninety-nine.

But whatever other advantages a reſidence at *Rome* might have procured our author, it certainly furniſhed him with abundant materials for his *Roman Lives*. To complete this work, was a deſign which he had early formed, and on which he reſolved to build his fame. Accordingly, we have obſerved, that he travelled over *Greece* to peruſe the archives of every city, that he might be thus enabled to deſcribe properly, not only the lives of his *Grecian* Worthies, but the laws, the cuſtoms, the rites and ceremonies of the countries in which they happened to figure. In like manner the *Roman* records, the capitol, the libraries both public and private of this metropolis of the world, contributed to ſupply him with materials for writing the lives of the Worthies of *Italy*.

But his diligence as an author, by no means abated his aſſiduity as a ſtateſman. He was intruſted with the management of public buſineſs during his reſidence at *Rome*. The Emperor *Trajan* beſtowed upon him the dignity of Conſul, and an edict was made in his favour, that the magiſtrates or officers of *Illyria* ſhould do nothing in that province without the knowledge and approbation of *Plutarch*.

The approbation and the friendſhip of ſuch an Emperor as *Trajan*, is alone equivalent to volumes in our author's praiſe. It is aſſerted by ſome, that *Plutarch* participated in this good Emperor's counſels, and contributed thus to promote the happineſs of mankind. *Johannes Sariſberienſis*, who lived above ſix hundred years ago, has tranſcribed a letter, ſuppoſed to be written by our author to that beſt of Emperors. Whether genuine or not, its merit is ſufficient to claim a place in this memoir. It runs thus:

Plutarch to *Trajan*.

I am convinced that your modeſty ſought not the empire, though the excellency of your manners long deſerved it. Your want of ambition in deſiring ſuch honours, only enhances that merit which was thought worthy to receive them. I therefore congratulate your virtue, and my good fortune, provided your future behaviour ſhall correſpond with your former intentions. Should you fall off, you undergo the riſque of danger, and the certainty of contempt. *Rome* will never ſupport an Emperor unworthy of her; and the faults of the ſcholar will

will be imputed to me his inſtructor. Thus *Seneca* is reproached, and his fame ſtill ſuffers for the vices of *Nero*. The miſcarriages of *Quinctillian*'s ſcholars have been thrown on their maſter; and even *Socrates* himſelf has been accounted remiſs in the inſtruction of his pupil *Alcibiades*. Do but continue to be yourſelf, and all will go well. Begin then to govern by ruling at home. Lay the foundation of empire on the command of your own paſſions; if you make virtue the ſcope of your actions, they will all proceed in harmony and order. I have already inſtructed you in the laws of ſociety, and the excellence of your predeceſſors; imitate and obey them: if you comply, I claim to myſelf ſome honour for influencing your conduct; if you refuſe, let this letter be my teſtimony to poſterity; that neither your faults nor errors have had the ſanction or the connivance of *Plutarch*.

Thus honoured, applauded, followed, our author continued near forty years in *Rome*. The deſire of viſiting his own country, ſo natural to all men, and the approaches of old age, for he could not be leſs than ſixty, conſpired to make him wiſh for a return to the little city in which he was born. However careſſed in life, however applauded, our fatigued wiſhes ſtill recur to home for relief, and we deſire to die where we firſt found exiſtence. The death of *Trajan* too might contribute to make him weary of living abroad, and to encreaſe his patriotic fondneſs, or to uſe his own words, to add one more to a little city which miſſed his abſence.

After his return, he was by the unanimous conſent of his fellow citizens, choſen Archon or chief magiſtrate of *Chæronea*. He, not long after, was admitted among the Prieſts of *Apollo*; a tincture of ſuperſtition ſeemed to colour all his actions, even in the vigour of manhood, when the mind ſympathizes with the ſtrength of the body, he was in ſome meaſure ſuperſtitious, and a bigot to Paganiſm; theſe are errors that generally encreaſe with age, and it is no way ſurprizing therefore to find our author giving entire ſway to ſuch hopes or fears, at a time, when the objects of thoſe paſſions are known to be near at hand. In theſe employments he continued till his death; the time, manner, or circumſtances of which are uncertain *. The titles conferred by the great, the honours of heraldry, the ſhouts of applauding multitudes, are but tranſitory rewards. Theſe *Plutarch* enjoyed, but thouſands who poſſeſſed them in a more conſpicuous manner than he, are now utterly neglected or forgotten. To the works alone which have ſurvived him, our Philoſopher owes all his applauſe. Theſe will live, while learning, genius, and inſtruction are dear to mankind. Biography, or the hiſtory of particular lives, is the ſubject on which the greateſt part of his fame depends; he wrote upon other topics, but on theſe he is equalled if not excelled by others; in biography alone, he remains unrivalled. Here he has opened a

* It is only known that he died about the year of *Chriſt* 140.

new field, in which his extenſive erudition and genius had the moſt ample diſplay. In *annals* or in *hiſtory* we ſee only the bolder ſtrokes of a character, in biography there is an opportunity of deſcending into more minute circumſtances; and we often ſee the hero diveſted of all the adventitious glare of greatneſs. In hiſtory you are only conducted into the Prince's rooms of ſtate; here you are led into his private retirements. You behold the character in undreſs, and are made familiar with its moſt private actions and converſations. You may behold a *Scipio* or a *Lelius* gathering cockle-ſhells on the ſhore, *Auguſtus* playing at marbles with boys, and *Ageſilaus* riding on a hobby-horſe among his children. The pageantry of life is taken away, you ſee the poor reaſoning animal as naked as ever nature made him; indebted often to accident, often to miſtake, and often to artifice, for ſuperiority and applauſe.

Plutarch is not more happy in the choice of his ſubjects, than in the delicacy and good ſenſe of his digreſſions. "I have always been pleaſed, "ſays *Dryden*, to ſee him and his imitator "*Montagne*, when they ſtrike a little out of "the common road, we are ſure to be the bet-"ter for their wandering. The beſt quarry "lies not always in the open field, and who "would not be content to follow a good huntſ-"man wherever he may lead, when he knows "the game will reward his pains. If we ob-"ſerve *Plutarch* narrowly, we ſhall find that "his frequent excurſions are owing to the va-"riety of his learning. He knew ſo much of

"nature

" nature, was ſo furniſhed with all the trea-
" ſures of the mind, that he was uneaſy to him-
" ſelf, and was forced, as I may ſay, to lay
" down a part at every paſſage, and to ſcatter
" his riches as he went. Like another *Alex-*
" *ander*, or *Adrian*, he built a city, or planted
" a colony in every part of his progreſs, and
" ever left behind ſome memorial of his great-
" neſs. *Sparta* and *Thebes*, and *Athens*, and
" *Rome*, the miſtreſs of the world, he has diſ-
" covered in their foundations, their inſtitu-
" tions, their growth, their height, the decay
" of the three firſt, and the alteration of the
" laſt. You ſee theſe ſeveral people in their
" different laws and policies, and forms of go-
" vernment, in their warriors and ſenators, and
" demagogues. Nor are the ornaments of
" poetry, and the illuſtrations of ſimilitudes
" forgotten by him. In both he inſtructs as
" well as pleaſes, or rather pleaſes that he may
" inſtruct."

But of all the commendations laviſhed on *Plutarch*, that by *Theodore Gaza*, the reſtorer of *Greek* literature, ſeems greateſt. It is ſaid, that having this whimſical queſtion propoſed to him by one of his ſcholars, That if learning were to be totally deſtroyed, and if all books were caſt into the flames, what author would he endeavour to reſcue from the general conflagration? To which he anſwered, *Plutarch*. For in ſaving him he ſecured the beſt collection of them all.

THE

THE LIFE OF *THESEUS.*

AS in the map of a country but partly known, we find the remoteſt regions filled with impaſſable mountains, or extenſive foreſts, wide ſpread deſarts, or frozen ſeas; thus in hiſtory, the remote periods are ever crowded with fancy and fiction, inhabited by Fabuliſts and Poets, who are either ignorant of truth, or pervert it when known. Yet as we went ſo high in our former lives, as thoſe of *Lycurgus*, and *Numa*; we were at preſent induced to aſcend yet ſtill a little higher, to *Romulus*, the founder of *Rome*; and to *Theſeus*, who firſt peopled the famous city of *Athens*. And, indeed it might be wiſhed, that fable could be ſeparated from truth on this occaſion; but as that, at this diſtance, is not to be attained, we only beſpeak the reader's candour; we ſhall wave certainty, ſatisfied with a deſire of guiding him to truth.

Theſeus,

Theſeus, by the father's ſide, was deſcended from *Erectheus*, the ſon of *Vulcan*, and by the mother's ſide, from *Pelops*, the moſt powerful of all the Kings of *Peloponneſus* *. One of his anceſtors, named *Pittheus*, was founder of the ſmall city of the *Træzenians*, and was reputed the moſt wiſe and moſt learned man of his time. The learning of a barbarous age ever conſiſts in moral ſentences collected by experience, and uſed upon proper occaſions in exhorting or reproving. *Ægeus* was, at that time, King of *Athens* †; but being deſirous of children, in order to attain his deſire, he conſulted the oracle at *Delphi:* the oracle accordingly returned him an anſwer, but expreſſed ſo obſcurely, that he was obliged to have recourſe to *Pittheus*, noted at that time for his ſagacity, in order to have it explained. The words were,

The Myſtic Veſſel muſt untoucht remain,
Till thou to Athens *ſhalt return again.*

Pittheus, having pondered upon the meaning of

* The *Peloponneſus*, a large peninſula of *Greece*, now a part of *Turkey* in *Europe*, called the *Morea*. It is joined to *Achaia* by the iſthmus of *Corinth*.

† *Athens*, now called *Setines*, was anciently the capital of *Attica*, as it is now of *Livadia*, a province of *Turkey* in *Europe*. It is ſituated near the river *Illiſſus*, in the midſt of a large plain, about forty miles to the eaſt of the iſthmus of *Corinth*. The preſent town is about four miles in circuit, and contains about 10,000 perſons, three parts of whom are Chriſtians of the *Greek* church. Within the walls of the caſtle is the temple of *Minerva*, which is ſtill pretty entire, and eſteemed one of the fineſt ancient temples in the world. It has been

the ſacred injunction, found by the equivocal manner of expreſſion, that it might bear a double interpretation, and prevailed upon *Ægeus*, either by perſuaſion or deceit, to lie with his daughter *Æthra*. *Ægeus* ſoon found out the lady, with whom he had been happy; and gueſſing the conſequences, deſired that their mutual offspring ſhould be her care; and returning to *Athens*, left her a ſword and a pair of ſhoes. Theſe in her preſence he hid under a great ſtone, deſiring her at the ſame time, that if ſhe had a ſon, who when grown up ſhould be able to lift the ſtone, and take away the depoſit, he ſhould be ſent to him with all poſſible ſecrecy. As he had not leſs than fifty nephews, who at once deſpiſed him for his want of children, and formed combinations to ſucceed in his kingdom.

The reſult of this private amour, was the birth of a ſon, who was called *Theſeus*, and brought up under his grandfather, who appointed him a tutor named *Connidas*. This maſter performed the taſk of his pupil's inſtruction, with the utmoſt aſſiduity; and the gratitude of the *Athenians* rewarded his merits. The day before the feaſt dedicated to *Theſeus*, they, for ſeveral ſucceeding ages, ſacrificed a ram to his tutor's memory; an honour which at once teſtified his merits, and their juſtice in rewarding them.

Theſeus, in his youth, diſcovered not only great ſtrength of body, but an extraordinary ſhare of fortitude, and underſtanding. The

converted into a Chriſtian church, and ſince into a *Turkiſh* moſque.

firſt trial of his abilities was to raiſe the ſtone which concealed the gifts of *Ægeus*. His mother therefore conducted him to the place, and informing him of his true father, our young hero lifted the ſtone without any difficulty. Poſſeſſed of the pledges, which were here left him, his next buſineſs was to go to the court of his father at *Athens*. His journey, either by ſea or land, was hazardous; ſhipwreck might be feared on the one, but robbery on the other threatened with ſtill greater dangers. In thoſe ages were produced men of prodigious ſwiftneſs, ſtrength, and activity; laborious, indefatigable, and of invincible courage. Such qualifications, however, were not uſed to ſerve mankind, but oppreſs them. Every wretch, who fell under their power, was but a new object for their pride, inſolence, and cruelty. They thought that all the duties of humanity were only the offspring of fear, and that all were permitted to commit injuries, who had force to ſupport their violence. Some of theſe ravagers were deſtroyed by *Hercules*, when paſſing through their countries; but ſeveral had hid themſelves from his juſtice, and thus found ſafety in his contempt of their cowardice. When the fear of puniſhment was taken away, the former offenders again appeared, and infeſted the roads from *Peloponneſus* to *Athens*, with unheard of barbarities. *Pittheus*, therefore, apprized of his grandſon's danger, adviſed our hero to go by ſea; with this advice, *Æthra* his mother joined her entreaties; but he rejected both. He had long been fired by the fame of *Hercules*,

Hercules, whom he held in the higheſt eſteem. To the relation of his actions, he would uſually liſten with rapture, and thoſe who had been preſent at his exploits, were his moſt pleaſing companions. As another incentive to emulation, *Hercules* and he were nearly related, and thus their merits might admit a cloſer compariſon. He thought it therefore a reflection upon his own virtues, that *Hercules* ſhould employ his life in purſuing and deſtroying thoſe enemies of mankind, while he was only a tame ſpectator of his labours. Thus diſpoſed, he therefore ſet forward on his journey by land; reſolved to do an injury to none, but if injured by others, prepared for a ſevere retribution.

The firſt interruption he met in his way was from *Periphetes*, in *Epidauria*; this man fought with a club, and his ſtrength in wielding that enormous weapon, procured him the name of *Corynetes*, or the club-bearer. Therefore, intending to uſe *Theſeus* with the ſame violence with which he had treated numbers before, he preſumed to ſtop him on his way. But this interruption proved fatal only to himſelf, he ſoon fell under the arm of our hero, who took his club, and uſed it ever after in all his future encounters. The ſize of this monſtrous weapon at once ſerved to ſhew the ſtrength of the giant who firſt fought with it, and ſtill more that of his conqueror, now become irreſiſtible.

Scarce had he gained one victory, when new crimes demanded redreſs. In the iſthmus of *Peloponneſus* lived *Sinnis*, a robber; this giant was ſurnamed the Pine-bender, from his man-

ner of deſtroying ſuch as fell into his power. He bent two pines till their tops almoſt met together, and having tied a leg and an arm of his wretched captive to each of them, he let them looſe; ſo that by their elaſtacity, returning to their former ſituations, they tore the limbs that were affixed to either. He puniſhed this monſter with his own new invented cruelty and without former practice bent the pines, by the ſtrength of his arms alone, which the criminal, whom he puniſhed, had learned to perform by long experience.

This *Sinnis* had a daughter of great beauty though extraordinary ſtature, called *Perigune*. She, when her father was killed, expecting ſimilar treatment, fled with the utmoſt precipitation. *Theſeus* purſued her, and found her hid in a thicket, which ſhe vainly ſought for ſhelter. Our hero however ſoon informed her of his natural clemency, and aſſuring her of his pity and reſpect, ſhe was reconciled, and even had by him a ſon, named *Menalippus*. *Thoſe were very different from modern times, and a daughter now could never pardon in a lover the deſtruction of a father; but in the ages of heroiſm, ſuch compliances were common. No age was, in fact, ever ſo far from true heroiſm, as that called heroic.*

A wild ſow, called *Phæa*, or more probably a woman reſembling that animal in her beaſtlineſs and cruelty, was next deſtroyed: and ſoon after *Scyron*, a robber of *Megara**, was caſt

* *Megara*, a town of *Achaia*, and once a famous Republic, though it now conſiſts of only 3 or 400 poor cottages.

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headlong into the ſea, from thoſe very rocks from whence he had often thrown the orphan, and the ſtranger. In *Eleuſis*, he killed *Cercyon*, the *Arcadian*, in a wreſtling match; and going on a little farther, in the city of *Hermione*, he ſlew *Procruſtes*, ſo remarkable for his bed of iron. This piece of wanton cruelty was exerciſed upon every ſtranger who fell in this robber's way. The victim was laid on the bed, and if too long, cut ſhorter, if too ſhort, ſtretched to the length of this torturing machine. Our hero uſed him as he had done the reſt, he fitted him to his own bed, making him undergo thoſe tortures of which himſelf was the inventor.

Thus proceeded *Theſeus* in the puniſhment of theſe wretches, inflicting juſtly their own injuſtice, till at length he came to the river *Cephiſus*, where he was met by the *Phytalidæ*, an hoſpitable race of people, different from thoſe he had before converſed with: they invited him to an entertainment; they performed at his deſire all the cuſtomary purifications, and ſtrove by every kindneſs to refreſh him after his fatigues. This was the firſt inſtance of hoſpitality he had received during his journey.

When he arrived at *Athens*, he found the city divided into parties and factions, and even the family of his father *Ægeus* ſharing in the general confuſion. *Ægeus* his father was now grown old, and from a fault too common in age, had taken *Medea*, the famous enchantreſs, to his bed. This woman, noted for her former ſpells and vices, was driven from *Corinth*, and found

an aſylum at the court of *Athens*, by promiſing to reſtore *Ægeus* their King to youthful vigour, and put him in a capacity of getting children: ſhe ſoon diſcovered *Theſeus* by her art, and knowing that her own influence muſt ceaſe, upon his being acknowledged as heir to the crown, ſhe determined to deſtroy him, before he could be known by his father. Her firſt care therefore was to fill the old man with ſuſpicions; and repreſenting the young ſtranger as a ſpy, contrived to give him poiſon at a banquet, inducing *Ægeus* to concur in this infamous deſign. *Theſeus* accepted the invitation, but accidentally drawing the ſword which had formerly been left with his mother, the old man knew it, and immediately throwing down the poiſoned cup which he was going to preſent him, after ſome queſtions, acknowledged him as his ſon. Then aſſembling the citizens, he owned him publicly before them, and they received him with great ſatisfaction, having heard of his valour and magnanimity.

By this new claim to the crown of *Athens*, the nephews of *Ægeus*, who were before in expectation of ſucceeding, now ſaw themſelves utterly diſappointed, and without hopes but from force. They therefore aſſembled, and dividing into two bodies, one marched openly to beſiege the city, while the other lay in ambuſh on the oppoſite ſide, in order to intercept thoſe who might ſeek ſafety by flight. But their deſigns were not tranſacted ſo cloſely as to eſcape the penetration of *Theſeus*; he fell upon thoſe who lay in ambuſh, and cut them all off; which the

the other partly hearing, they immediately diſperſed.

But a life of inactivity which this victory procured, was by no means agreeable to *Theſeus*. He once more took a journey to fight the bull of *Marathon* *. This creature had long diſtreſſed the neighbouring inhabitants, and none were found able or courageous enough to attempt its deſtruction. Victory, which had attended our hero on former occaſions, followed him alſo on this; he not only vanquiſhed the bull, but brought it alive in triumph thro' the city, and afterwards ſacrificed it in the temple of *Apollo*.

Not long after arrived the third time from *Crete* †, the collectors of the tribute which the *Athenians* paid the *Cretans* upon the following occaſion. The murder of *Androgeos* by the people of *Attica*, produced a war between the *Cretans* and them. The powers of nature joined in their quarrel, and ſeemed to puniſh the tranſgreſſors with peſtilence and famine. The *Athenians* in this diſtreſs being informed by the Oracle, that their calamities would continue till *Minos* King of the *Cretans* was appeaſed for the

* *Marathon*, a ſmall town of *Attica*, now called *Marathona*.

† An iſland in the *Mediterranean*, now called *Candia*. The celebrated mount *Ida* takes up a great part of the middle of the iſland, but has loſt its ancient beauty; for its fine groves are now no more, and it is only a huge barren rock: but the vallies and plains around it are repleniſhed with the moſt excellent fruits. *Candia* has many villages, and is ſubject to the *Turks*.

murder of his ſon, they ſent Ambaſſador
and with much entreaty at length obtain
a peace, upon condition they ſhould ſend
Crete every ninth year a tribute of ſeve
youths, and an equal number of virgins. We
we to give place to fable on this occaſion,
might here be ſaid, that thoſe children bein
arrived at *Crete*, were offered as victims to
monſter called the *Minotaur*, half man and ha
bull: that they were ſhut up in a labyrinth
the apartments of which were ſo complicated
as to prevent all poſſibility of eſcaping. Bu
this is denied by the *Cretans* themſelves: the
aſſert, that the labyrinth was only an ordinar
priſon; that there was nothing terrible in it
except that it ſecured the priſoners from eſcap
ing: that *Minos* having inſtituted games in ho
nour of *Androgeos*, gave thoſe captive youths t
the victors, among the number of which wa
a brutal and inſolent man named *Taurus*. How
ever this be, certain it is, that the tribute con
tinued to be punctually paid, and was as rigo
rouſly exacted.

The time of the third tribute was arrived,
and every youth was now to be produced to
take his chance by lot. This created new mur
murs and diſcontents againſt *Ægeus* among the
people. They were filled with grief and in
dignation, that he who was the only cauſe o
all their miſeries ſhould alone in his family be
exempt from the puniſhment. They reſented
that an illegitimate ſon and a foreigner ſhould
be preſerved from the power of fortune, while
their own lawful children might be raviſhed
from

from them for ever. The miſeries and diſcontents of the people affected *Theſeus* with equal concern. He was reſolved to ſhew them, that he would not only be foremoſt in ſtation, but foremoſt in danger; and freely offered to go without drawing any lot. The people were fixed in admiration at his courage, but it was increaſed to aſtoniſhment at his perſeverance and conſtancy. All their entreaties, all the entreaties of his father were incapable of ſhaking his reſolution; wherefore, *Ægeus* finding him inflexibly bent on going ſet him down as one, and proceeded to chuſe the reſt as uſual.

There appeared no hopes of return by the fate of the youths who went formerly; yet ſtill *Theſeus* encouraged his father, and promiſed ſucceſs. The former method was to ſend them in a ſhip with a black ſail, as to inevitable deſtruction; but ſuch were their hopes in this young hero, that the pilot was furniſhed beſide with a white one, which ſhould be uſed in caſe of ſucceſs. Things being thus adjuſted, our youth, with his companions in diſtreſs, firſt made an offering to *Apollo* for their ſafe return, and then embarked upon the 6th of *April*; on which day the *Athenians* for ſeveral ages after ſent virgins to make ſupplication to the Gods.

When he arrived in *Crete*, his beauty, and the manly graces of his perſon, ſoon attracted the affections of *Ariadne*, the daughter of the King. She, ſay the Poets, furniſhed him with a clew of thread, which ſerved to conduct him through all the windings of the labyrinth; where he ſlew the *Minotaur*, and ſailed back

to

to *Athens*, bringing with him *Ariadne*, his beautiful deliverer, and the *Athenian* youths who accompanied him from home. Hiſtorians, however, relate the affair very differently. Upon the arrival of the *Athenian* youths at *Crete*, *Minos* proclaimed the annual games which had been celebrated in honour of his ſon. Among the foremoſt of the champions on this occaſion was *Taurus*, a perſon of amazing ſtrength, but of the moſt brutal and inſolent behaviour. His former victories encreaſed the natural ferocity of his temper, and his intrigues with *Paſiphae* the Queen, created him the envy of all the nobility, and even raiſed the jealouſy of the King. Upon his entering the liſts, not one was found to undertake the combat; when the youthful *Theſeus* ſtepping forth, modeſtly requeſted permiſſion to engage. *Minos* without much entreaty granted his requeſt, and permitted a conteſt, in which he ſecretly wiſhed the young *Athenian* ſucceſs. It was the cuſtom in *Crete*, that women ſhould be admitted to thoſe games, at once to inſpire the champions with courage, and to reward their victory. *Ariadne* no ſooner beheld *Theſeus*, but ſhe was ſtruck with admiration at his vigour and addreſs. Several ventured to encounter him, over whom he gained an eaſy victory; *Taurus* only remained, who entered the field, regarding the youth and preſumption of his opponent with contempt: but he ſoon found he had over-rated his own merit; he was conquered with ſo little difficulty, that the eaſe with which he was ſubdued even added freſh poignance to his diſgrace.

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The ſucceſs of our hero ſpread general ſatisfaction over the whole iſland; but *Minos*, who had long hated *Taurus* in ſecret, ſet no bounds to his pleaſure on this occaſion; he not only loaded *Theſeus* with honours, but gave up the *Athenian* captives, and voluntarily remitted the tribute in time to come. Thus rewarded, he ſet ſail once more for *Athens*, bearing away the beautiful *Ariadne*, who left her father for him. We ſhall but ſlightly mention the various accounts the Poets give of their ſeparation, of *Theſeus* leaving her on the iſle of *Naxos**, and falling in love with another; but continue to preſent the reader with the moſt probable account, which is that delivered by *Pæon*. Their voyage at firſt ſeemed favourable, but ſoon a ſtorm aroſe, which drove them upon the iſland of *Cyprus*. *Ariadne* being with child, and greatly diſcompoſed by the rolling of the ſea, was ſet on ſhore, while the reſt of the crew were employed in repairing the damages which the veſſel had ſuſtained. Another ſtorm ariſing, forced them to ſea, before they had an opportunity of bringing off the beautiful adventurer. The women of the iſland, however, received her with the utmoſt humanity, endeavoured by every method to mitigate her grief, and even counterfeited letters to her from *Theſeus*. But all their aſſiduity was ineffectual; ſhe died in childbed, and they honoured her with a magnificent inter-

* This iſland is now called *Nixia*; for a deſcription of which ſee *The World Diſplayed*, Vol. XII. p. 38.

ment.

ment. In the midſt of the funeral rites *Theſeus* returning, enquired for whom they were performing. He was at firſt inconſolable for ſuch unexpected diſtreſs, but loſt his anguiſh by time. On his departure he left a conſiderable ſum of money among the people of the iſland, ordering them to ſacrifice and pay proper honours to *Ariadne*.

His ſhip at length approached the ſhores of *Attica*. An univerſal joy was diffuſed over the whole company, every duty was forgot in riot and diſſipation, but particularly the black ſail was ſuffered to remain, which was an omen to the people on ſhore of misfortune. Among the reſt who were looking with impatience for the ſhip's return, was *Ægeus* the King, when the black ſail immediately ſtriking his view for grief, he threw himſelf headlong from the rock on which he was ſtanding, and periſhed in the ſea. *Theſeus*, ignorant of his father's misfortune, being arrived at the port, offered the ſacrifices which he had vowed the Gods at his departure, and ſent an herald to the city with news of his ſafe return and ſucceſs. Upon his entering the city he was ſurprized to ſee none of that exultation and pleaſure, which he expected to find on every face: he found them full of ſorrow for the loſs of their King, and he had too much duty when informed of the cauſe, not to ſympathize with their diſtreſs. When ſome were for crowning him with garlands, he refuſed their ſervices; and inſtead of placing them on his temples, he hung them on his

his herald's ſtaff, thus entering amidſt the cries and lamentations of the people.

Theſeus having paid the proper honours to his father's memory, now began to put in execution a deſign far ſuperior to that of conquering wild beaſts, or deſtroying giants; a deſign that might alone denominate him a hero. He collected all the inhabitants of *Attica* into one town, and made them fellow citizens, who before could hardly call each other countrymen. Unbound by law, and unacquainted with ſocial duty, ſuch differences often happened among them as terminated in ſlaughter. Their diſputes he undertook to appeaſe, and going from people to people, and from tribe to tribe, propoſed his deſign of a happy coalition. The lower orders, who ſought only tranquillity, readily embraced his propoſals; to thoſe of higher ranks he propoſed a participation of power; and with an unexampled virtue, offered to diveſt himſelf of kingly authority, and form a commonwealth, in which the adminiſtration ſhould be committed to the people. He only reſerved for himſelf the generalſhip in war, and as for the reſt, promiſed an equal diſtribution of property.

By this means many were brought over to his propoſal, and the reſt fearing his power, which was now too great for oppoſition, being ſpectators alſo of his diſintereſted virtue, they preferred rather perſuaſion than force. He began therefore by diſſolving all the diſtinct courts of juſtice, and built one common hall or prytaneum; joined the juriſdiction of the city, which

was

was before divided; and ordained a fe called *Panathenea*, at once to commemorate h endeavours, and give the ſanction of religio to his deſigns.

When he had thus ſucceeded in making his fe low creatures happy, he glorioufly laid down h regal power purſuant to his promiſe, and ſettle a commonwealth, not without divine counſe and aſſiſtance. Having ſent to conſult th oracle at *Delphos* concerning the fortune of h new government, he received this anſwer,

As when an empty bladder braves
The fury of the angry waves;
The city ſhall unhurt rebound,
Often toſs'd but never drown'd.

Still further bent on enlarging his city, he invited all ſtrangers to come and participate the ſame privileges with the natives. Yet he ſuffered not his ſtate, by the promiſcuous multitude that flowed in, to be put in confuſion, o feel any inconvenience from this mixture of nations. He prudently divided the commonwealth into three diſtinct claſſes, noblemen, huſbandmen, and artificers. To the nobility he committed the care of religion, the choice of magiſtrates, the teaching and diſpenſing of the laws, and the interpretation of all ſacred matters. In other reſpects, all were reduced to an exact equality. The nobles excelled in honour, the huſbandmen in utility, and the artificers in number.

He next coined money, and ſtamped it with the image of an ox, either in memory of his former

former victory, or to remind his people of the uſefulneſs of huſbandry. Having alſo aſcertained the limits of the country, and added *Megara* as an acquiſition, he erected a pillar on the iſthmus of *Peloponneſus*, ſhewing the bounds of the two countries that meet there. He alſo firſt inſtituted annual games in emulation of *Hercules*: as the *Greeks*, by that hero's appointment, celebrated the Olympic Games to the honour of *Jupiter*; ſo by a ſimilar inſtitution of *Theſeus*, they ſhould celebrate the Iſthmian Games in honour of *Neptune*.

Having thus ſettled the government at home, *Theſeus* began to turn his thoughts to foreign expeditions. The *Amazons* were a nation at that time, remarkable for their courage, fierceneſs, and victories. Either inſtigated therefore by a love of fame, or induced by motives of friendſhip to *Hercules*, our hero undertook to accompany him in ſubduing this extraordinary ſociety. Their expedition was accordingly crowned with ſucceſs, they gained ſome victories together, for who could withſtand their united efforts; but having humbled, without being able to ſubdue this fierce nation, they returned; *Theſeus* bringing the fair *Antiope* home, as his part of the plunder. But the *Amazons* were not a people that could tamely bear an injury without endeavours for redreſs. They therefore levied their forces afreſh, and made an unexpected excurſion to the very gates of *Athens*. *Theſeus* was not unprepared for this invaſion, and drew forth his troops to oppoſe

them. Both armies being in ſight, there enſue for ſome time a profound ſilence, as if each dreaded to engage; *Theſeus*, however, begs the firſt onſet, by attacking the *Amazons* le wing, which was advanced before the reſt their army. The women ſuſtained the attac with unparallelled intrepidity, and gaining ne courage from their enemies ſurprize, preſſe the *Athenians* ſo cloſely, that they fled in the u moſt confuſion. But ſoon freſh ſupplies pou ing in from all ſides, they once more returne to the fight, and beat the *Amazons* back to the tents with great ſlaughter.

Not leſs than four months were thus ſpe in continual encounters, till at laſt both ſide fatigued with an unſucceſsful war, agreed t ſtrike up a peace by the mediation of the lad whom *Theſeus* had carried away. In this man ner ended a war which ſeems to have orig nally begun in injuſtice; the *Amazons* retire back to their native country, ſtill unſubdue though failing to ſubdue.

One inſtance of our hero's humanity deſerve greater praiſe than a thouſand of his courage The city of *Thebes* had been unſucceſsfully be ſieged by *Adraſtus*, who was obliged to retir leaving numbers of his army ſlain and unburie before the walls. To theſe the conquerors de nied the rites of ſepulture, and they lay a pre to dogs and vultures. *Theſeus* was touched wit compaſſion, to ſee the bodies of ſo many bra men treated with ſuch inhumanity; he therefor uſed every effort to mitigate the victors fero

city

city, and the dead bodies at his interceſſion were reſtored to their friends. Hiſtorians ſay that this was the firſt treaty that ever was made for recovering and burying the bodies of the ſlain. We ſhould be careful to mark the progreſs of humanity, for one new virtue thus introduced into ſociety, deſerves alone to confer immortality on the introducer.

Actions ſuch as thoſe we have related, had at length procured *Theſeus* the eſteem, or the emulation of all good or great men; among the reſt *Pirithous* deſired to be a ſpectator of thoſe virtues, and that valour, of which he had heard ſuch extraordinary reports. In order therefore to try the force of *Theſeus*, he was reſolved to begin, by provoking him to the combat; and accordingly ſeized upon a herd of oxen which belonged to *Theſeus*. The invader was now driving them away, when word was brought him that the owner purſued and was in arms to redreſs the injury. *Pirithous* inſtantly ſtopped to face his opponent, but as ſoon as they had viewed each other, a nobler paſſion than animoſity ſeized their breaſts, immediately throwing their arms aſide and embracing, they both ſwore eternal friendſhip, and were reſolved to be companions in every future danger.

The marriage of *Pirithous* with *Deidamia* ſoon after gave *Theſeus* an opportunity of ſhewing his friendſhip. Upon this occaſion the bridegroom had invited the *Lapithæ*, and *Centaurs*, among the reſt of his gueſts; but the glaſs circulating with two much freedom, the *Centaurs*

loſt all that decency, which they owed the fa
ſex; and even offered violence to the wome
The *Lapithæ* immediately reſented the injur
and a quarrel enſued. *Theſeus* undertook t
cauſe of the weaker ſex, many of the *Centa*
were killed on the ſpot, and the whole race w
ſoon after driven out of the country.

Hitherto we have ſhewed our hero as t
friend of virtue, and the redreſſer of injurie
the legiſlator of a commonwealth, and the r
ſtorer of juſtice; but now the faulty parts
his character come to be exhibited. His paſſi
for beauty too frequently carried him beyo
the bounds of prudence, and tarniſhed his othe
wiſe unblemiſhed reputation. His formerly d
ſerting *Ariadne*, as ſome report, and his carryi
away *Antiope*, were faults, that even virtues li
his could ſcarce atone for. But the latter part
his life was ſullied with an action as diſgrac
ful to an hero as unſuitable to his age. *He*
was at that time a prodigy of beauty, and h
fame diffuſed over all *Greece:* a deſire of ſeei
what the world commended, firſt induced *Th*
ſeus, now fifty years old, and his friend *Pirith*
to go together into *Sparta*, where ſhe reſide
But our old warrior no ſooner beheld her, th
he felt the paſſions of his youth return.
concert with his friend, therefore, he ſeiz
the young lady, as ſhe was dancing in the te
ple of *Diana*, and inſtantly fled away. Sev
ral men in arms were preſently ſent in purſ
of the raviſhers, but they followed them no fa
ther than the limits of *Sparta*. The two co
panions in guilt being now out of danger, pr
poſ

poſed to caſt lots for their beautiful prize, agreeing, that he who happened to be the winner ſhould marry the lady, and help his friend in procuring another. Upon this compact the prize fell to *Theſeus*, who took the young lady, being not yet marriageable, and conveyed her to the city *Aphidnæ*. Here he conſigned her to the care of his mother, and enjoined her ſecrecy, that none might know where to reclaim her.

In the mean time, *Pirithous* was to be rewarded for his former ſervices, and they agreed together upon a ſecond expedition, equally diſhonourable and unjuſt with the former; which was to ſteal away the daughter of *Aidoneus* King of *Epirus*.* This monarch kept a great dog called *Cerberus*, with whom he ordered all the ſuitors of his daughter to fight, and promiſed her to him, who ſhould overcome the monſter. Having been informed, however, that the deſign of *Pirithous* and his companion was not to court his daughter, but to carry her away; he ſeized upon the ſtrangers, threw *Pirithous* to the dog, who tore him in pieces, and caſt *Theſeus* into priſon. Thus was our hero deprived of liberty, without even the conſolation of having fallen in the cauſe of juſtice. In the mean time, while he continued in hopeleſs captivity, his native ſubjects began to ſhew themſelves ungrateful. *Meneſtheus*, a man deſcended from the ancient Kings of *Athens*, now began to affect popularity, and to

* Now *Canina*, a province of *European Turky*, near the entrance of the gulph of *Venice*.

ingratiate himſelf with the multitude. H
firſt raiſed invectives againſt *Theſeus*, and exa
perated a great part of the city againſt him b
enlarging on his pride and ſeverity. But pa
ticularly the populace were in no ſmall com
motion, being reproached with ſuffering them
ſelves to loſe their liberties, while they wer
amuſed with a confirmation of their freedom
Whilſt he was thus buſied in infecting th
minds of the citizens, *Caſtor* and *Pollux* mad
war upon *Athens* for the recovery of *Hele*
their ſiſter, who had been unjuſtly carried a
way. At their firſt approach they committe
no act of hoſtility, but peaceably demande
their ſiſter. The *Athenians*, ignorant of th
place of her concealment, could return n
ſatisfactory anſwer, which induced the inva
dors to prepare for aſſaulting the city; whe
Accademus, having by ſome means found ou
the place of her reſidence, diſcovered to them
that ſhe was ſecretly kept at *Aphidnæ*. The
youthful warriors now, therefore, turned from
Athens to the place of her concealment; over-
came their enemies in a ſet battle, and aſ-
ſaulted and took the town. The conqueſt o
this place threw the whole city of *Athen*
into great conſternation. Being unable t
oppoſe the conquerors, they rather relied fo
protection on their clemency, than their ow
valour. They accordingly, by the advic
of *Meneſtheus*, opened their gates, and receive
Caſtor and *Pollux* with all civility and friend-
ſhip. The behaviour of thoſe youths no way
belie

belied their former reputation. Having been admitted as abſolute maſters of the place, the only tribute they demanded, was to be initiated into the myſteries of *Ceres*, as *Hercules* had been before them. This requeſt was eaſily obtained, being a debt they might rather claim from their merits, than exact by their power.

During this interval, the unfortunate *Theſeus* ſtill continued in priſon, and might juſtly expect all the puniſhments, that his invaſion of the rights of hoſpitality could produce. It happened, however, that *Hercules* paſſing thro' the country of the *Moloſſians*, was entertained in his way by the King. Amidſt other diſcourſe, the names of *Theſeus* and *Pirithous* were accidentally mentioned, when *Aidoneus* took an opportunity of expatiating on their injuſtice, their deſign in coming to his dominions, and the method he had taken to puniſh them. *Hercules* could not ſuppreſs his ſorrow at the inglorious fate of the one, and the degrading confinement of the other. As for *Pirithous*, he thought it vain to expoſtulate with the King concerning his death, but begged the releaſement of *Theſeus*; and the King, willing to oblige his gueſt, readily granted him that favour.

Our hero, once more releaſed from captivity, returned to *Athens*, where he found ſome willing to ſupport and defend him. His party was not yet wholly ſuppreſſed, and all thoſe portions of land which the city had

ſet

ſet apart for his uſe, he dedicated to *Hercules* his deliverer. But he knew not the factions that had been raiſed againſt him during his abſence. Deſigning to preſide in the commonwealth as uſual, he found himſelf encompaſſed with ſedition. He diſcovered, that thoſe who had long hated him, now added to their diſlike of his perſon, a contempt of his authority. He ſaw the minds of the people ſo generally corrupted, that inſtead of obeying with ſilence and ſubmiſſion, they expected to be flattered and ſoothed into their duty. At firſt, therefore, he attempted by force to reduce them to obedience, but all his efforts were ineffectual; at laſt, deſpairing of ſucceſs, he privately ſent away his children into *Eubea*, and having himſelf ſolemnly curſed the people, he ſailed to *Scyrus*, where he had a paternal eſtate, and as he fondly imagined a great intereſt with the inhabitants. *Lycomedes* was then King of this iſland. *Theſeus*, therefore, addreſſed himſelf to him, and deſired to have his lands put into his poſſeſſion, as deſigning to ſettle there. The brutal monarch, however, either jealous of the glory of ſo great a man, or deſirous of gratifying the *Athenians*, under pretence of ſeeing the lands in queſtion, led our hero to the higheſt cliff of the iſland, and from thence threw him headlong down the rock, on which he was daſhed to pieces. Thus died *Theſeus*, diſregarded, unlamented, and unknown. His character ſeems an aſſemblage of great virtues,

THESEUS thrown from a Rock.

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His ſons
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ues, and ſome vices. But it is remarka-
ble, that while he held to the former, he
was ever happy; when he indulged himſelf in
the latter, they ſunk him into miſery, contempt
and ruin.

His ſons were brought up in a private man-
ner, and accompanied *Elphenor* to the *Trojan*
war; but after the deceaſe of *Meneſtheus*, who
died in the ſame expedition, they returned to
Athens, and recovered the kingdom. Several
circumſtances concurred in ſucceeding ages,
to honour the memory of the hero as a demi-
god, whom when, living, they had rejected as
a tyrant. Among others, in the great battle
of *Marathon*, in which the *Greeks* overcame the
power of *Perſia*, many of the ſoldiers fancied
they ſaw an apparition of *Theſeus* in arms leading
them to battle, and ruſhing on the barbarians.
The oracle alſo commanded them to collect the
bones of this great man, and laying them in
ſome honourable place, to keep them as ſacred
reliques in the city. This command it was for
ſome time impoſſible to comply with, ſince the
inhabitants of the country in which they were
buried denied all acceſs to ſtrangers. But af-
terwards, when *Cymon* took the iſland, an eagle
directed him to the grave, and tearing up the
earth with its beak, diſcovered the remains of
the hero. The body appeared of more than
ordinary ſize, by it were laid the brazen head
of a ſpear, and a ſword of enormous weight.
The *Athenians* in tranſport went out to meet
and receive thoſe reliques, and ſacrificed to
them

them, as if *Theſeus* himſelf had returned victorious and alive. His remains were interred in the midſt of the city, and his tomb was made a ſanctuary to protect ſlaves, and all others whom poverty rendered unable to reſiſt oppreſſion. Thus the hero, who while living had defended the poor from inſult, now dead became the patron of the diſtreſſed.

THE

THE

LIFE

OF

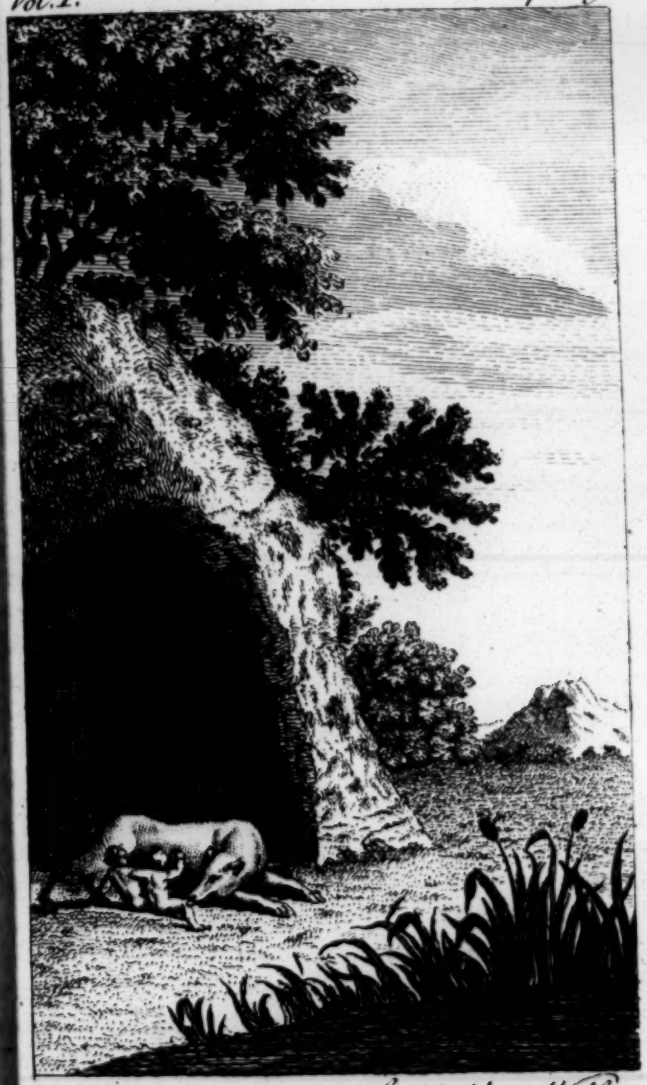
ROMULUS.

THE origin of every country is ſhaded with error, and wrapped up in fable. The viſions of ignorance and ſimplicity are generally diſtorted and abſurd; and even in the brighteſt hiſtory clouds reſt upon the end of the perſpective. It is but natural to ſuppoſe, that the origin of *Rome* partook of this obſcurity ſo common in other reſpects, and that while ſhe was feeble ſhe was utterly unknown.

The various derivations of the very name ſufficiently evince the uncertainty of its hiſtory. The *Latin* writers in general ſeem to deal rather in fable than hiſtory; and not to themſelves, but to the *Greek* hiſtorians, are we indebted for the moſt probable account of the origin of the name

name and city of *Rome*. The Kings of *Alba*, we are informed, deſcending lineally from *Æneas*, the ſucceſſion devolved at length upon two brothers, *Numitor* and *Amulius*. In order to make the moſt equitable diviſion of the empire, the treaſures which were brought from *Troy* were placed on one ſide, and the kingdom upon the other. *Numitor* choſe the kingdom, and the money fell to the ſhare of his brother *Amulius*. It may eaſily be imagined, that he who is poſſeſſed of the riches of a kingdom, muſt ſoon become maſter of the inhabitants alſo. This was the caſe upon the preſent diviſion, *Amulius* ſoon dethroned his brother, and fearing that *Numitor*'s daughter might have children, who would one day aſſert their right to the crown, he made her a Prieſteſs of *Veſta*, which obliged her to future celibacy. This lady, whoſe name was *Rhea Sylvia*, ſeemed unfit for the employment impoſed upon her. She was ſoon after found with child, and was going to ſuffer the moſt cruel puniſhment, if *Antho*, the uſurper's daughter had not interceded in her behalf. Her puniſhment was changed therefore into confinement and ſolitude. In this ſeclusion ſhe was delivered of two boys, extraordinary both in ſize and beauty. This only ſerved to awaken all the tyrant's jealouſy; he reſolved upon their deſtruction, and commanded a ſervant to deſtroy them. For this purpoſe the infants were put into a trough, and the perſon entruſted with this execrable commiſſion went to the river ſide with a deſign to caſt them in. Seeing, however, the waters much ſwelled

ROMVL



ROMULUS and REMUS Suckled by a Wolfe.

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ſwelled, and very rough, and being afraid of venturing too near, he dropped the children not far from the bank, and went haſtily away. The river overflowing, the waters bore up the trough, and gently landed it on an even ſhore; near the place ſtood a fig-tree, which lent its ſhade to defend them from the ſcorching ſun. While the infants lay in this helpleſs ſituation, a ſhe wolf it is ſaid came and ſuckled them, and a wood-pecker conſtantly fed and watched them. Theſe creatures were ſaid to be ſacred to *Mars*; and the mother, who pretended that the children belonged to that God, found from this circumſtance more eaſy credit.

In this ſituation *Fauſtulus*, the herdſman of *Amulius*, found the children, and unwilling that even beaſts ſhould ſhew more pity than man, he brought them home to his wife *Acca Laurentia*, who privately ſuckled them. But ſome contradict this account, for uncertainty is ever talkative, and ſay, that *Numitor* knew it from the firſt, and privately ſupplied all the expences of his grandchildren's education. The learning and the accompliſhments of the times were early taught them, with every other qualification ſuitable to their birth and quality.

In their very infancy the beauty and gracefulneſs of their perſons diſcovered the natural greatneſs of their minds; and as they grew up, they became remarkable for ſtrength, courage, and magnanimity. *Remus* ſeemed more fond of exerciſe, but his brother *Romulus* of ſtudy. The former was valiant, the latter prudent. *Romulus* ſeemed to have an underſtanding fine-

ly adapted to govern kingdoms; and in h
tranſactions with the ruſtics around him, ev
ſhewed himſelf the King in the homely dr
of a ſhepherd. To their companions both we
equally affable and courteous, only deſpiſi
the attendants of the uſurper's court, and t
baſe ſycophants who contributed to ſupport h
power.

Fame, the conſtant attendant upon true gre
neſs, ſoon divulged their merits. And an o
portunity preſently offered of publicly exe
ciſing that virtue, which was too great for
tirement. A quarrel happening between t
herdſmen of *Numitor* and *Amulius*, *Romulus* a
Remus took part againſt the herdſmen of *Nu*
tor, imagining that in this they defended t
cauſe of juſtice. Their conduct on this occ
ſion could not fail of highly incenſing *Numi*
their grandfather; but they, ignorant of h
real connexions, diſregarded his menaces. I
ſtead of aſking pardon for their boldneſs, th
aſſociated with numbers of the poor, the ſlave
and all thoſe who expected to mend by
change. Thus every thing appeared ripe f
a revolt; when *Romulus* being employed in
ſacrifice, his brother *Remus* was ſurprized a
taken priſoner. He was immediately carri
before *Numitor*, and there charged with ſever
crimes; yet *Numitor* refuſed to puniſh the d
linquent himſelf, being afraid to offend h
brother *Amulius*, under whom he was conte
to maintain a ſeparate authority. He ther
fore referred him to *Amulius*, demanding ſ
tisfaction for the injury which was done h

ſervant

ſervants. To his demands for juſtice the ſervants of *Amulius* added their's, ſuppoſing that *Numitor* had been diſhonourably uſed: theſe ſolicitations had their effect: *Amulius* was induced to ſend the priſoner back to *Numitor*, to treat him as he ſhould think proper. He therefore carried *Remus* home, and ſtruck with his perſonal charms, and perceiving in his face the courage and intrepidity of his mind, his curioſity was excited to farther enquiry. Aſſuming therefore a mild aſpect, and gentle tone of voice, he demanded of the captive youth, his birth, connexions, and way of living. He, quite undaunted made this reply; "Your juſtice, in examining before you condemn, demands on my ſide candour and ſincerity. Of my family I know but little, I have but one only brother, and we are twins. We long thought ourſelves the ſons of a ſhepherd, but ſince our accuſation, and now that our lives are in danger, it is whiſpered, that we are deſcended more nobly. Our birth is ſaid to have been ſecret; our ſupport in infancy miraculous: we were nouriſhed by the birds and beaſts; a wolf ſuckled us, and a wood-pecker brought us food, while we lay helpleſs by the river ſide. The trough and its inſcription are ſtill preſerved entire: theſe our unhappy parents may one day find, when we ſhall be no more." The manner in which this anſwer was delivered ſtruck the attendants with awe, but the ſubſtance of his narration was what particularly affected *Numitor*. He now recollected the time of

his daughter's being delivered, and conſidering the young man's looks, all circumſtances flattered him with the pleaſing hope, that theſe might be her children. But to be more certain he contrived to have a ſecret conference with his daughter, who was ſtill confined in priſon.

Romulus, in the mean time, was not content his brother ſhould fall without revenge; and *Fauſtulus* informing him of his real birth, added wings to his deſire of compleating his reſcue. But this old ſhepherd ſtill fearing the conſequences of delayed information, was reſolved if poſſible to prevent a civil war; ſo taking up the trough, he flew with it to *Numitor*. His haſte and his looks immediately alarmed the ſuſpicion of the King's guards; and he being unable to give proper anſwers to their demands, the trough was diſcovered. By ill fortune there was one among them who was preſent when the children were expoſed: he inſtantly recollected the trough, read the inſcription, and ran to give information of it to *Amulius*. *Amulius* behaved on ſuch an occaſion as men generally do when actuated by anger or by fear; he ſent with the utmoſt diſpatch a meſſenger to *Numitor*, to know if the children of his daughter *Rhea* were really yet alive. The meſſenger, who was ſecretly the tyrant's enemy, being come, and finding *Numitor* already diſpoſed to embrace *Remus* as his grandſon, confirmed him in his perſuaſion; and adviſed him once more to ſtruggle for the recovery of his rights, and made him offers of his aſſiſtance. There was now indeed no time for long deliberation; *Romulus* drew

drew near at the head of a choſen band of his companions, and many of the citizens revolted to him, out of hatred to the uſurper. Thus poſſeſſed of an army without, while his brother gained the citizens within, *Amulius* was deprived of every method to reſiſt or retire; he was taken and put to death in order to appeaſe the injured citizens, and ſettle the future ſucceſſion.

Amulius being now removed, and the affairs of the kingdom again adjuſted, the two brothers were unwilling to dwell in *Alba* without governing there; nor yet were they inclined to deprive their grandfather of his juſt inheritance, ſince that would be to practiſe the injuſtice they ſo lately puniſhed in another. Having therefore reſigned him the power, and treated their mother with proper reſpect, they reſolved to live together, and build a city among thoſe hills where they firſt received their education. By this means they ſtill continued to command the ſlaves and fugitives they had before aſſembled, who muſt have all diſperſed, had their leaders been content to reſide in *Alba*.

As ſoon as the reſolutions for building this new city were taken, the enterprizing youths, ſtill more to encreaſe the number of their ſubjects, opened an aſylum for all fugitives, where all degrees were received, cheriſhed, and protected. None were delivered back to juſtice; neither the ſervant to his maſter, the debtor to his creditor, and ſtill more extraordinary, neither the murderer into the hands of the magiſtrates. The bad adminiſtration of the former

reign might probably have encreaſed the number of malefactors; they came from all ſides, and ſoon the brothers ſaw themſelves at the head of a formidable body. But a difference aroſe between them about fixing the place for their intended city. *Romulus* built a ſquare of houſes which he called *Rome*, and would have the city erected there; *Remus* laid out a tract of ground upon the *Aventine* mount, well fortified by nature, and thought it the propereſt ſituation for art to improve. To ſettle this diſpute they agreed to be determined by a divination from the flight of birds, and taking ſeparate ſtations, there appeared to *Remus* ſix vultures, but to *Romulus* double the number. Some, however, ſay that *Romulus* only pretended to ſee this number, while *Remus* ſaw ſix in reality. However this be, *Remus* ſeemed to deſpiſe the trifling attempts of his brother to fortify the city; when the foundation of the wall was digging, ſome parts he turned to ridicule, and others he endeavoured to obſtruct. At laſt contemptuouſly leaping over the work, ſome ſay *Romulus* killed him on the ſpot, others that this murder was committed by *Celer*, one of his companions. In theſe rude ages we find the manners of even the greateſt men tinctured with barbarity, and the moſt ſhocking vices mingled with the moſt glaring virtues. In this quarrel alſo was *Fauſtulus* ſlain, while *Celer* inſtantly fled into *Tuſcany*, and never after appeared in *Rome*.

Romulus having buried his brother and foſter-father with due ſolemnity, began to build his city,

city, having firſt ſent for men out of *Tuſcany*, who directed every ceremony which was to be performed on the occaſion. Firſt they dug a trench round the place deſigned for the hall of juſtice, into this they threw the firſt fruits of every thing which were valuable, either by cuſtom or from nature. Each then taking a ſmall quantity of the earth of the country from whence he came, they all threw them in promiſcuouſly together. Round this trench as a centre, they deſcribed a line which was to mark out the extent of the city. The founder then fitting a brazen plow-ſhare, and yoking together a bull and a cow, turned a deep furrow round the bounds, which determined the compaſs of the wall. Where he deſigned a gate ſhould be, he lifted the plow, thus all parts of the wall were eſteemed ſacred but the gates, which gave a free paſſage to all things whether myſtical or profane. The city began to be built on the 21ſt of *April*, and that day was afterwards annually obſerved as a ſolemn feſtival among the *Romans*.

The city being now built *, *Romulus* enrolled all that were able to bear arms into military companies, each conſiſting of three thouſand foot men and three hundred horſe. Theſe were called Legions, becauſe they were ſelected from the reſt of the people. He next choſe an hundred of the moſt eminent men for his counſellors, theſe be ſtiled Patricians, and the whole

* This is ſaid to have happened 751 years before the birth of *Chriſt*.

body

body of them the Senate, which ſignifies a conſiſtory of ancient men. He likewiſe made another diſtinction between theſe and the populace, calling the former Patrons, the latter Clients. The patron was to protect his client when unjuſtly oppreſſed by others, he was to be his advocate when under proſecution, and his adviſer and director in every exigence. The client in return was to be firmly attached to his patron, to ſhew him every mark of deference and reſpect, and in caſe of poverty to contribute to his relief.

Thus every precaution was taken to introduce order and harmony among this illicit aſſembly; but ſtill a city without women promiſed every day to decreaſe, and at laſt to be totally annihilated. *Romulus* therefore obſerved that his city was filled by a confluence of foreigners, and that the multitude, unbound by the ties of family, threatened every day to fall away with the ſame precipitancy with which they had at firſt united. In order therefore to obviate theſe inconveniencies, he gave out, that he had found the altar of a certain God hid under ground. Upon this pretended diſcovery, he by proclamation appointed a day for a ſplendid ſacrifice, and public games. To this feſtival the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, with their wives and daughters, came in great numbers, invited either by motives of religion or of pleaſure. He himſelf ſate uppermoſt amidſt his nobles, clad in purple. As a ſignal for beginning the aſſault, he was to riſe, gather up his robe, and throw it over his body. All his fol-

followers with eyes fixed upon him waited the ſignal with impatience. At length it was given, when drawing their ſwords, and falling on with a great ſhout, they ſeized the daughters of the *Sabines*, but ſuffered the men to eſcape. Some ſay there were but thirty taken, and that from them the tribes had their names; but other accounts encreaſe the number to ſix hundred and eighty three, all virgins, except one. This lady's name was *Herſilia*, whom they ſeized by miſtake, tho' ſhe was afterwards married to *Hoſtilius*, one of the moſt eminent men of *Rome*. Their conduct, however, in this reſpect may be in ſome meaſure vindicated; this rape was not committed from a lewd and injurious diſpoſition, but merely with a deſign to contract an alliance with their neighbours, and to confirm it by the cloſeſt ties of friendſhip.

The *Sabines* were a numerous and martial people*, living in ſmall unfortified villages, and diſdaining any ſafeguard but their native courage to defend them. This injured nation was reſolved, therefore, firſt to try the force of perſuaſion, before they attempted to find redreſs from violence. They ſent Ambaſſadors to *Romulus* with fair and reaſonable propoſals, requeſting, that he would return their daughters, and eſtabliſh a future alliance upon a more equitable foundation. With this propoſal *Romulus* would not comply; he deſired their friendſhip, but

* The *Sabines* inhabited the country between the *Tiber*, the *Tiverone*, and the *Appennines*, and were near neighbours to *Rome*.

yet

yet was reſolved to detain the raviſhed virgin. *Acron* was at that time King of the *Ceninenſes**, a man equally remarkable for experience in buſineſs, and courage in war; he from the beginning regarded the progreſs of the *Romans* with jealouſy, he ſaw future conqueſt in the very rudiments of their government, and this late violence gave him a proper opportunity of attempting to repreſs their power. He, therefore, at the head of a numerous army was the firſt who invaded this riſing colony. *Romulus* was by no means unprepared to receive him, both armies came into the ſame plain with their reſpective Kings commanding in perſon before them. *Acron* and *Romulus* met, while their followers, as if by an impulſe of aſtoniſhment, gazed on the ſingle combat. *Romulus* was victorious, he killed *Acron*, routed his army, and took his capital.

It was at that time the cuſtom to make ſlaves of all the captives in war, and a defeat was uſually followed by rapine, ſlaughter, rapes, and every ſpecies of inhumanity: *Romulus* ſet the world a new example of lenity; he did no injury to the conquered inhabitants, he only commanded them to demoliſh their houſes, and attend him to *Rome*, where they were admitted to all the privileges of his new-made city. We ought ever to mark theſe new virtues brought in among mankind: this clemency to the conquered was probably firſt introduced by the

* This and the other nations hereafter mentioned were in the neighbourhood of *Rome*.

Roman

Roman hero, and nothing leſs than the conqueſt of the world rewarded its introduction. Every conqueſt thus became a ſolid acquiſition of power. All conquerors have generally endeavoured to give the ſanction of religion to their victories. *Romulus* immediately after the battle cut down a tall oak which he found growing in the camp, and adorned it with the ſpoils of *Acron*; this he dedicated to *Jupiter*, to whoſe aſſiſtance he aſcribed the victory, and bearing it on his ſhoulder, he carried it along before the whole army, who received him with acclamations of wonder and joy.

After the overthrow of the *Ceninenſians*, the other *Sabines* were ſtill reſolved to continue the war. The people of *Fidena*, *Cruſtumerium*, and *Antemna* joined in a league againſt the *Romans*, but without ſucceſs. They were likewiſe defeated, and gave up to the conqueror their cities to be ſpoiled, their territories to be divided, and themſelves to be tranſplanted to *Rome*. Thus ſucceſsful, *Romulus* ſhewed himſelf not leſs valiant in war, than juſt in peace: all the lands acquired by conqueſt were diſtributed among the citizens; the parents of the raviſhed virgins alone were diſtinguiſhed in this diſtribution, and permitted to enjoy their former poſſeſſions.

A diſtribution ſo juſt, once more, however, produced a new revolt among the *Sabines*: they ſaw no reaſon for ſuch a diſtinction, and therefore choſe *Tatius* for their General, who marched againſt *Rome*. The citadel was naturally ſtrong, and had received all the fortifications

tifications which the art of thoſe times wa
able to ſupply. It was defended alſo by a
ſtrong garriſon, and commanded by *Tarpeius*, a
man of experience and valour. His daughte
Tarpeia, however, inſtigated by avarice or love,
betrayed one of the gates to the *Sabines*, and
claimed, as the reward of her treachery, all
they wore on their left arms. Traitors are
uſed as venomous creatures; fed while their
poiſon may be thought requiſite for medicinal
purpoſes, but trod upon with deteſtation when
no longer uſeful: thus did the *Sabines* behave
towards *Tarpeia*; the golden bracelets they wore
on their left arms they conſidered as her pro-
perty, but ſhe had a right to their bucklers alſo:
Tatius, the King, was himſelf the firſt who threw
his buckler at her, and his whole army follow-
ing the example, ſhe was cruſhed to death be-
neath the load.

The *Sabines* being thus in poſſeſſion of the
citadel, *Romulus* offered them battle, which *Ta-
tius* gladly accepted, having a ſecure retreat in
caſe of a defeat. Both armies, therefore, pre-
pared for the fight; they were drawn up on a
plain ſurrounded by hills, and ſcarce any means
were left for thoſe who were conquered to find
ſafety. The *Sabines* began the encounter; *Ro-
mulus* received a wound on his head by a ſtone,
which almoſt brought him to the ground. His
diſtreſs ſerved in ſome meaſure to diſcourage his
army; they were no longer able to oppoſe, and
being driven out of the plain, with great difficul-
ty found ſhelter on the *Palatine* mount. *Romulus*
was by this time recovered from the ſtupor
cauſed

cauſed by the blow: he looked round and ſaw his army flying; he endeavoured by every encouragement to bring them back, and with a loud voice exhorted them to return to the engagement. His army was ſtruck with reverence for their Prince, and their fears were now turned to deſperation. They rallied once more, and in their turn repulſed the *Sabines*. The heat of the battle continuing now for a long time without intermiſſion, both ſides ſtopt a little, as if by mutual conſent, to take breath; they regarded each other in ſilent dread, but were again preparing to renew the combat, when a ſight, ſtrange paſt expreſſion, filled them with new ſenſations. The raviſhed daughters of the *Sabines*, who were now become wives in *Rome*, were ſeen ruſhing between the two armies with loud cries and lamentations. They regarded the dead bodies of their fathers and their huſbands with frantic agony; they held out their children to move pity, and with their hair looſe, and with looks of ſoftneſs and beauty, called by turns on the *Romans* and the *Sabines*. The contending armies melted into compaſſion at the ſight. They fell back to give room; and now their complaints were heard more diſtinctly.

What, cried they, have we done, that we have already ſuffered ſuch calamities, and ſtill muſt ſuffer more. We were made wives by force, but duty at length induced us to love thoſe whom we at firſt regarded with deteſtation. So that you do not come now to redreſs our injuries as virgins, but to ſeparate wives

from their husbands, and mothers from their children. But though you have other motive for war, yet for our safety desist. We every where behold our fathers, our grandfathers, our friends and kindred; give us then to our husbands and children; you have a right to dispose, but separated from them, we shall become captives indeed.

These remonstrances brought on a cessation of hostilities, and the chief officers came to a treaty. During this interval the women presented their husbands and their children to their fathers and brethren, they brought refreshment to those who were faint, and bound up the wounds of those who were fallen. This conduct produced an edict in their favour: women were ever after exempt from all other labour but spinning; and the *Romans* and *Sabines* agreed to inhabit the city promiscuously together. It was decreed, that the city should be called *Rome*, from *Romulus*, but the people *Quirites*, from *Cures* the capital of the *Sabines*. As for the two Kings, they were resolved to govern and command the army in common; and only strive to excel in acts of generosity, justice and virtue.

But though the two Princes agreed to govern, they did not at first join in council, but studied each other's mutual improvement separately; the *Sabines* consented to use the *Roman* calendar, and *Romulus* improved from them the *Roman* armour. But in religious institutions *Romulus* was particularly sedulous; he pretended to profound skill in divination, and

usual

uſually held the crooked rod in his hand with which ſouthſayers mark out the heavens. He alſo made ſeveral laws, one of which permitted the huſband in certain circumſtances to turn off his wife, but diſallowed a reciprocal power of quitting her huſband. Among his penal laws he inſtituted no puniſhment for parricide, ſuppoſing the crime too horrid to find exiſtence in nature. And in this indeed he ſeemed for a long time to have judged rightly; nor was there for ſix hundred years one inſtance of ſo unnatural a barbarity; *Lucius Oſtius*, after the wars of *Hannibal*, being the firſt who killed his own father.

For five years the harmony between the two Kings ſubſiſted without any interruption; but the friends of *Tatius* happening to meet ſome Ambaſſadors coming to *Rome*, robbed and murdered them. *Romulus* thought ſo attrocious a crime deſerved immediate puniſhment; but his colleague was unwilling to be deprived of men who helped to ſupport his power. This ſoon bred a diſſention between them; and the relations of the Ambaſſadors who were ſlain took an opportunity of being revenged on *Tatius*. They fell upon him as he was ſacrificing with *Romulus*, at a village near *Rome*, and killed him. But *Romulus* had their applauſe, and they eſcorted him back to the city in ſafety.

The *Roman* cauſe thus daily gathering ſtrength, the weaker neighbours ſubmitted, and were contented to live in ſecurity. Many foreign nations alſo paid him proper reſpect. The ancient *Latins* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, and en-

tered into a league with the King. The city of *Fidenæ* was added to the *Roman* conquests; and *Romulus* gained a complete victory over the *Camerians*, who had invaded the territories of *Rome*.

But a plague broke out ſoon after, which ſeemed to deſtroy thoſe who had been ſpared from the fury of war. It killed inſtantly without any previous ſickneſs. Even trees and cattle were not exempt from the malignity of its influence; but all nature lay one deſolate and abandoned waſte: it even was ſaid to rain blood, ſo that the terrors of ſuperſtition were added to the other miſeries of nature. It was thought that ſuch calamities from heaven, could only proceed from their having left unrevenged the murder of *Tatius* and the Ambaſſadors; wherefore, the criminals on both ſides being delivered up, and put to death, the calamities ſeemed viſibly to abate.

The gradual encreaſe of the *Roman* power, muſt naturally produce jealouſy in every neighbouring country. Among others, the *Veientes**, a people of *Tuſcany*, who poſſeſſed a large territory, and inhabited a ſpacious city, took occaſion to begin a war by remanding the city of *Fidenæ* as their own. This requeſt, as was but reaſonable, was treated with contempt; upon which they divided with two bodies, one at-

* The *Veientes* were one of the moſt powerful of the twelve nations that inhabited *Etruria*. *Veii*, their capital, ſtood about twelve miles from *Rome*, on a ſteep rock, which rendered it the ſtrongeſt place in the country.

tacked

tacked the garriſon of *Fidenæ*, and the other marched againſt *Romulus*. That party which went againſt *Fidenæ* took the town, with the ſlaughter of two thouſand *Romans*; that which went againſt *Romulus* was worſted, with the loſs of eight thouſand men. Theſe victories were on neither ſide deciſive. They after fought again near *Fidenæ*, and it is allowed by all, that the victory was entirely owing to the courage and conduct of the *Roman* King. He ſhewed the moſt conſummate ſkill, as well as bravery, and ſeemed to exert a ſtrength and ſwiftneſs more than human. The army of the *Veientes* being thus routed, *Romulus* led his forces againſt their city. The terror of their late defeat prevented them from making a proper defence; they choſe rather to capitulate with the conqueror, who concluded with them a truce for an hundred years, upon receiving a part of their territories for his own uſe, and hoſtages as a farther ſecurity.

This was the laſt war in which *Romulus* was engaged. He now ſaw himſelf without a rival, and his ſubjects poſſeſſed of peace. But who can bear a long tide of proſperity without alteration! Elated with his ſucceſſes, he now grew haughty and aſſuming, and changed his former condeſcenſion into pride and impatience. His habit was a purple veſt, over which was thrown a robe with a purple border, he gave audience in a chair of ſtate, and aſſumed every enſign of royalty and diſtinction. Several Lictors or executioners attended him wherever he appeared, each carrying an ax bound up with

a bundle of rods, as emblems of their power to puniſh. The Senators who were at firſt choſen as partners in the government, had now only the name and title of honour left them; they met rather in obedience to the inſtitution, than to give advice.

The faults of monarchs almoſt ever bring on their own puniſhment; this haughty behaviour of *Romulus* drew upon him an univerſal defection of his ſubjects, but particularly the Senators reſented his inſolence and innovations. They therefore, while he was holding an aſſembly in the temple of *Vulcan*, fell upon him, cut him in pieces, and each privately bore away a part of his body, giving out that he was carried up to heaven in a whirlwind. This account, however, ſeemed not very ſatisfactory to the people, they ſuſpected the Senate of impoſition, and appeared ready to revenge their King. In this beginning of ſedition, *Julius Proculus*, a man of an excellent character, and the deceaſed monarch's intimate friend, preſented himſelf to the people. He declared with the moſt ſolemn oath that as he was travelling on the road, *Romulus* met him in bright and glittering armour, and with an aſpect more than human, addreſſed him thus: "It has pleaſed "the Gods, O *Proculus!* after having built a "city that ſhall give laws to the world, that I "ſhould return to heaven from whence I came. "Tell the *Romans*, that by the exerciſe of "temperance and fortitude, they ſhall arrive "at the ſummit of human glory, and that their "King, now changed into the God *Quirinus*, will

"ever

"ever be propitious to them. Farewell." The people were quickly appeaſed with this pretended viſion; all ſeized with the ſame enthuſiaſm, were readily perſuaded of its truth, and unanimouſly invoked their tutelar deity.

Thus fell *Romulus* in the 54th year of his age, and 38th of his reign*. Should we compare him with *Theſeus*, the hero, whoſe hiſtory we have given before, we ſhall rather find the *Grecian* to excel. *Theſeus* introduced more virtues into ſociety, and was guilty of fewer vices; *Theſeus* gave liberty to a kingdom that was his by right of inheritance; *Romulus* deprived thoſe ſubjects of liberty, who were born free. *Theſeus*, it is true, was intemperate with regard to women; *Romulus*, though he gave orders for a rape, was himſelf particularly remarkable for chaſtity. In ſhort, the faults of *Theſeus* have a greater affinity to virtue; thoſe of the *Roman* ſeem to border upon pride. The exceſſes of *Theſeus* generally proceeded from too unbounded a regard for humanity; the errors of *Romulus*, from a paſſion for glory and arbitrary ſway.

* That is in the 715th year before the birth of our Saviour.

THE

THE

LIFE

OF

LYCURGUS.

SOME of the Kings of *Sparta**, by ſlackening the reins of government, and others by uſing too much rigour, had contributed to throw the *Lacedæmonians* into a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion. This occaſioned the death of *Eunamus*, one of the Kings †, and the father

* *Sparta or Lacedæmon* was ſituated in *Laconia*, a part of *Peloponneſus*, now the *Morea*; which, with the other countries of ancient *Greece*, is now ſubject to the *Turks*.

† There were two Kings of *Sparta*, the occaſion of which was this. *Procles* or *Patrocles* were twins, the ſons of King *Ariſtodemus*, who died immediately after their birth. The *Lacedæmonians* being

BRITISH
MUSEUM

LYCURGUS *presenting the infant King to the people.*

father of *Lycurgus*; who, endeavouring to quell a riot, was mortally wounded with a knife. This Prince left his kingdom to his eldeſt ſon *Polydectes*, who dying ſoon after, the right of ſucceſſion was ſuppoſed to deſcend to *Lycurgus*, who accordingly aſſumed the ſupreme authority; but he no ſooner heard that the Queen, his ſiſter-in-law, was pregnant, than he publicly declared that the kingdom belonged to her iſſue, provided it was a male; and that he would exerciſe the regal authority, only as the guardian of his nephew. Soon after the Queen privately made him the inhuman and unnatural propoſal, that on condition he would marry her when he was King, ſhe would deſtroy the fruit of her womb. *Lycurgus*, though extremely exaſperated at this wicked deſign, ſeemed to approve it; but earneſtly perſuaded her not to procure a miſcarriage, leſt it ſhould impair her health, if not endanger her life; pretending, that he would take care the child ſhould be deſtroyed as ſoon as it was born. By theſe artifices he drew her on till the time of her lying-in; but no ſooner heard that ſhe was in labour, than he ſent ſome of his council to be preſent at her delivery; with orders, that if the infant proved a girl, they ſhould leave it with the women; but if it

being uncertain which was the eldeſt, ſent to conſult the oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, which commanded them to appoint both the children Kings. Thus from that time the *Spartans* had two Kings, one of whom was always a deſcendant of *Patrocles*, and the other of *Euryſthenes*.

was

was a boy, they ſhould bring it to him where-ever he was.

While *Lycurgus* was at ſupper with the principal magiſtrates, the Queen was brought to bed of a boy, who was ſoon after preſented to him as he ſat at table; when tenderly taking the infant in his arms, he cried out, "*Spar-*"*tans*, ſee here your new-born King." Then laying him on the chair of ſtate, and obſerving, that all who were preſent were ſtruck with joy and admiration at his juſtice and diſintereſted generoſity, he named him *Charilaus*, that is, *The Joy of the People*.

Thus the reign of *Lycurgus* laſted but eight months; he was, however, ſtill highly honoured by his fellow citizens; and there were more who obeyed him on account of his eminent virtues, than becauſe he was guardian to the King, and had the ſupreme authority in his hands. Yet his equity and greatneſs of mind could not preſerve him from envy; a party was formed againſt him, at the head of which were the kindred and friends of the cruel and ambitious queen-mother, who pretended that ſhe had been injuriouſly treated: and *Leonidas*, her brother, in a warm debate, went ſo far as to tell *Lycurgus*, that *he was very well aſſured he ſhould ere long ſee him King*. Thus he endeavoured to excite the jealouſy of the people, and to prepare the way for the future accuſation of this great man, as the murderer of his nephew, in caſe he ſhould happen to die. Inſinuations of the ſame nature were alſo ſpread by

by the infamous queen-mother and her adherents.

These unjuſt aſperſions gave *Lycurgus* great concern; and fearing the conſequence, he reſolved to avoid their ſuſpicions by a voluntary exile *, and to travel till the young King was married, and by having an heir, had ſecured the ſucceſſion. With this reſolution he ſailed to *Crete*, where he employed himſelf in ſtudying the laws of the country, and in contracting an acquaintance with perſons of the greateſt diſtinction for their wiſdom and probity. Some of their laws, which he much approved, he reſolved to make uſe of in his own country, and others he rejected. Among the perſons moſt renowned for their abilities in political affairs was *Thales* †, whom *Lycurgus*, by his repeated importunities, induced to go to *Sparta*; where, while he only aſſumed the character of a lyric poet, he performed the part of an able legiſlator; for the ſongs he compoſed were pathetic exhortations to obedience and concord; while the ſweetneſs of his muſic, and the cadence of his verſe, had ſo powerful and pleaſing an effect upon the hearers, that their minds became

* Authors are not agreed as to exact time in which *Lycurgus* lived; however, this event is generally ſuppoſed to have happened about the 870th year before the birth of *Chriſt*.

† This *Thales* was a poet and muſician, and ought not to be confounded with *Thales* the *Mileſian*, one of the ſeven wiſe men of *Greece*, who lived in the time of *Cræſus* and *Solon*, 250 years after the time of *Lycurgus*.

inſen-

inſenſibly ſoftened and civilized; and at length renouncing their mutual feuds and animoſities, they united in the love of humanity and good order. Thus did *Thales* prepare the way for *Lycurgus*, by diſpoſing the people to receive his inſtitutions.

From *Crete* he ſailed to *Aſia*, that by comparing the frugality of the *Cretans*, with the luxurious life of the *Ionians*, he might form a better judgment of the effect this produced in their manners and form of government. Here he probably firſt ſaw *Homer*'s works, which were preſerved by the poſterity of *Creophylus* *; and perceving that they were as admirable for the excellent moral and political inſtructions they contained, as for the graces of poetry, he eagerly tranſcribed and collected them together, with a deſign to take them to *Sparta*: for though before his time theſe poems began to be known in *Greece*, they were confuſedly ſcattered about in fragments; but *Lycurgus* was the firſt who collected them, and brought them into general reputation.

According to the *Egyptians*, he alſo took a voyage to *Egypt*; where, being much pleaſed with the method of ſeparating the ſoldiery from the reſt of the people, he reſolved one day to imitate them at *Lacedæmon*.

Lycurgus's abſence was much regretted at *Sparta*, and many embaſſies were ſent to ſollicit his return. The people were ſenſible that their Kings only wore the habit of royalty, but in

* *Creophylus* had entertained *Homer* as his guest

the qualities of their minds had nothing that rendered them ſuperior to their ſubjects; but that *Lycurgus*, by virtue, added to his natural authority and power of perſuaſion, ſhewed that he was born to rule. Nor were the Kings themſelves averſe to his coming; for they imagined that he would defend them from the inſolence of the people.

Finding things on his return in this ſituation, he reſolved immediately to make a thorough change in the commonwealth, but determined firſt to go to *Delphi* * to conſult the oracle of *Apollo*. Being arrived at that celebrated temple, he offered his ſacrifice, and propoſed his queſtion, when the Prieſteſs calling him Beloved of the Gods, and rather a God than a man, added, that he was authorized by the oracle to eſtabliſh good laws; and that *Apollo* promiſed to make the commonwealth which obſerved them the moſt famous in the world.

Encouraged by this proſpect, he endeavoured to bring over to his ſide the leading men of *Sparta*. He communicated his intention firſt to his particular friends, and then having by degrees gained others, he at laſt animated them to put his deſign in execution. Things being at length ripe for action, he ordered thirty of the principal men of *Sparta* to appear by break

* The reader may ſee a particular account of this oracle, the manner of conſulting the God, the riches of the temple, and the artifices of the Pythia or Prieſteſs, in the *New Pantheon*, printed for Mr. *Newbery*.

of day armed in the market-place, to ſtrike terror into the oppoſite party. At the beginning of the tumult, *Charilaus*, imagining that conſpiracy had been formed againſt his perſon took ſanctuary in a temple; but being ſoon undeceived, and having obliged them all to take an oath that they had no treaſonable deſigns, he quitted his place of refuge, and himſelf alſo entered into the confederacy.

Lycurgus firſt eſtabliſhed a Senate of thirty perſons, in the number of which the two Kings were included; the conſent and approbation of this body were neceſſary to the forming of laws; but it depended on the people in their ſolemn aſſemblies either to ratify or reject them.

He next baniſhed out of the commonwealth riches and poverty, luxury and arrogance, envy and fraud, by reducing the whole country to a common ſtock, and engaging the people to conſent to a new diviſion of the lands, by which all had an equal ſhare. That no odious diſtinction or inequality might be left among them, he alſo reſolved to make a diviſion of the moveables: but finding that it would be difficult to make the rich part with what they had in their poſſeſſion, he got the better of their avarice by a ſtratagem. He began with rendering gold and ſilver of no value, and by allowing no other money but what was made of iron, of which a great weight and quantity was but of little value. By this invention, many vices were baniſhed from *Lacedæmon*: for who would rob or cheat another of ſuch coin? or who receive as a bribe what no man could conceal?

He next baniſhed all uſeleſs and ſuperfluous arts, moſt of which, after the prohibition of gold and ſilver, would have declined of themſelves, the heavy current money not being proper payment for curious and valuable pieces of art; nor would it paſs among the other *Greeks*, who ridiculed and deſpiſed it. Thus luxury, gaiety, and ſplendor being deprived of their ſupport, died away, and all ſuperfluities were baniſhed.

To render this equality more perfect, *Lycurgus* had public tables, where they all eat in common, of the ſame meat, and only of ſuch kinds as were ſpecified in the law. The rich were expreſsly forbid to eat at home; they were not there to ſuffer themſelves to be pampered by their cooks, and like voracious animals, to fatten in private: they were obliged to live on the frugal diet provided at the public halls; for every one had an eye upon thoſe who did not eat and drink at the common table, and reproached them as luxurious and effeminate.

This regulation ſo exaſperated the rich, that they raiſed an inſurrection, and at laſt proceeded ſo far as to aſſault *Lycurgus* with ſtones; when to ſave his life, he fled out of the aſſembly, and ran to take ſanctuary in a temple. He outſtript all the reſt, except *Alcander*, a young man, otherwiſe not ill diſpoſed, but haſty and choleric, who coming up to him, and *Lycurgus* turning about to ſee who was near, he ſtruck him with a ſtick, and beat out one of his eyes. This great lawgiver undaunted by this melancholy accident, ſtopt ſhort, and ſhewing his face ſtreaming with

blood to his countrymen, they were ſtruck with ſuch remorſe, grief, and ſhame, that they delivered *Alcander* into his hands to be puniſhed as he ſhould think fit, and conducted him home with the greateſt concern for his ill uſage.

Lycurgus having thanked them for their care of his perſon, diſmiſſed them all, except *Alcander*, whom he took into his houſe; but neither did nor ſaid any thing that had the appearance of ſeverity; only diſmiſſing his attendants, he ordered the young man to wait upon him at table. *Alcander* being thus near *Lycurgus*, and having an opportunity of obſerving the natural mildneſs of his temper, his extraordinary ſobriety and indefatigable induſtry, became one of his moſt zealous admirers, and told his friends and companions, that *Lycurgus* was ſo far from being a moroſe and ill-natured man, that he was of the ſweeteſt and moſt gentle diſpoſition. Thus did *Lycurgus*, for the chaſtiſement of a fault, render a wild and paſſionate young man one of the diſcreeteſt citizens of *Sparta*.

In memory of this accident *Lycurgus* erected a temple to *Minerva Optilete*, or of the eyes. However, *Dioſcorides* and ſome other authors ſay, that he was wounded indeed, but did not loſe his eye by the blow; and that he dedicated that temple in gratitude for the cure. After this misfortune the *Lacedæmonians* never brought a ſtaff into their public aſſembly.

The *Spartans*, in their repaſts, met by companies of fifteen, or a few more or leſs, and each of them was obliged to bring in monthly a buſhel of meal, eight gallons of wine, five pounds

pounds of cheeſe, two pounds and a half of figs, and a little money to buy fleſh and fiſh. Beſides, when any of them ſacrificed to the Gods, they always ſent ſome of the victim to the common hall: and when any one had been hunting, he ſent thither a part of the game he had killed. Thoſe who had been ſacrificing or hunting were allowed to ſup at home; but in all other caſes they were bound to appear. This cuſtom of eating together was obſerved for a long time. So that when King *Agis* vanquiſhed the *Athenians*, and at his return home, ſent for his commons, becauſe he was deſirous of ſupping in private with his Queen, he was refuſed by the Polemarchs.* This he reſented ſo much, that the next day he would not offer the cuſtomary ſacrifice on the happy concluſion of a war: upon which they impoſed a fine upon him.

To theſe public tables the *Spartans* ſent their children, as to ſchools of temperance, where they were alſo inſtructed in political affairs by the diſcourſe of men of dignity and experience. They here learned to converſe with chearfulneſs and pleaſantry, to jeſt without ſcurrility, and to take no offence when the raillery was returned. To bear raillery well, was thought extremely becoming a *Lacedæmonian*; but upon the leaſt hint of its being uneaſy to any one,

* The Polemarchs were thoſe who had commanded the army under the Kings; theſe had the office of carving or dividing the commons, which was eſteemed of ſuch dignity, that none but the principal men of the ſtate were admitted to it.

no more was ſaid to him. It was alſo cuſtomary for the eldeſt man in the company, to ſay to each of them, as they came in, pointing to the door, "Not a word ſaid in this company "muſt go out there." Before a perſon could be admitted to theſe ſocieties, each man of the company took a little ball of ſoft bread, which he was to throw into a pitcher which a waiter carried round on his head. All who liked the perſon, dropt their ball into the pitcher, without altering its form, while thoſe who diſapproved his admiſſion, expreſſed their diſapprobation, by preſſing it flat between their fingers; and if there were but one of theſe flatted pieces found in the pitcher, the candidate was rejected, for all the members of a ſociety were to be perfectly ſatisfied with each other.

The principal diſh at theſe entertainments was a kind of black broth, which was ſo much admired, that the elderly men ſitting by themſelves, fed ſolely upon it, leaving the fleſh meat to the young. 'Tis ſaid, that a King of *Pontus* ſent for a *Lacedæmonian* cook on purpoſe to make him ſome of this black broth; but upon taſting it, found it extremely diſagreeble, which the cook obſerving, ſaid, "Sir, to make this broth "reliſh, you ſhould firſt have bathed yourſelf in "the *Eurotas*." † After having drank moderately

† *Cicero* relates a ſtory that nearly reſembles this. *Dionyſius* the tyrant, ſays he, being at one of theſe meals, thought this black broth very inſipid. I don't wonder at it, ſaid the cook, for the ſeaſoning is wanting. *What ſeaſoning?* replied the tyrant. *Running, ſweating, fatigue, hunger, and*

ſtately every man went home without lights, which they were never allowed to uſe in the ſtreets, in order* that they might accuſtom themſelves to march boldly in the dark.

Lycurgus reſolved never to reduce his laws into writing; for he imagined that if ſuch regulations, as were moſt eſſential to the public happineſs and virtue, were deeply impreſſed upon the minds of the people, they would grow up to a firm and invariable principle of action, operating with ſuch irreſiſtible force, that they would need no other law-giver but their education.

Another peculiarity in the laws of *Lycurgus*, particularly levelled at luxury and expence, was his ordaining that the cielings of their houſes ſhould only be wrought by the ax, and their gates and doors ſmoothed only by the ſaw; without uſing any other tool: for he imagined no man would be ſo abſurd as to bring into ſuch a houſe beadſteads with ſilver feet, gold cups, or any thing that had the appearance of expence and magnificence; but that all would be naturally induced to proportion their furniture to the plainneſs of their houſes.

thirſt? theſe, ſaid the cook, *are the ingredients with which we ſeaſon all our food.* Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. *lib.* V.

* *Xenophon* ſays, that the young were only included in this prohibition, who knowing that they were not to lie where they ſupped, were thus laid under the neceſſity of keeping themſelves ſober, that they might be in a condition to find the way home.

In

In order to the good education of youth, which he thought the nobleſt work of a lawgiver, he went back even to their conception and birth. He ordered the maidens to exerciſe themſelves in wreſtling, running, throwing quoits and darts; that by their acquiring ſtrength and vigour of body, they might not only be the better enabled to undergo the pains of child-bearing with eaſe and ſafety, but might produce a ſound and healthy offspring. Thus did he inſpire that ſoft ſex with the emulation of having a vigorous conſtitution, and gave them a tincture of manly courage, ſufficient to make them ſhare in the valour and magnanimity of their huſbands and children. This often appeared in their converſation. Thus *Gorgo*, the wife of *Leonidas*, when a certain foreign lady ſaid, "You of *Lacedæmon* are "the only women in the world who have an "empire over the men," replied, "And with "good reaſon, for we are the only women "that bring forth men."

The more effectually to promote marriage, thoſe who continued bachellors were made infamous by law; they were excluded from the ſight of ſome public proceſſions in which the young women danced naked, and were themſelves compelled to march naked round the market-place in the depth of winter. They were beſides denied that reſpect and obſervance which the young were obliged to pay to the old*; and

* One of the leſſons oſteneſt and moſt ſtrongly inculcated upon the *Spartan* youth, was to reverence

and therefore none were offended with what was ſaid to *Dercyllidas*, an eminent commander, who one day coming into company, a young man, inſtead of riſing and making room for him, cried, "Thou muſt not expect that "honour from me, now I am young, which "cannot be returned to me by a child of thine, "when I am old."

Marriages were never contracted till the parties were full grown, and the nuptial rites were performed with the utmoſt ſecrecy. After the wedding, the bride compleatly dreſſed in man's cloaths, was left upon a mattreſs in the dark, and the bridegroom, after having ſupped at the common table, privately entered the room, untied her girdle, and conducted her to another

rence old men, and to give them proofs of it upon all occaſions, by ſaluting them, by giving place to them in the ſtreets, by riſing up to ſhew them honour in all companies, and public aſſemblies; and above all, by receiving their advice, and even their reproofs with docility and ſubmiſſion: by theſe characteriſtics, a *Lacedæmonian* was known wherever he came: if he had behaved otherwiſe, it would have been looked upon as a reproach to himſelf, and a diſhonour to his country. An old man of *Athens* going into the theatre to ſee a play, none of his countrymen offered him a ſeat; but when he came near the place where the *Spartan* Ambaſſadors, and their retinue were ſitting, they all roſe up out of reverence to his age, and ſeated him in the midſt of them. *Lyſander*, therefore, had reaſon to ſay, that old age had no where ſo honourable an abode as at *Sparta*, and that it was an agreeable thing to grow old in that city.

bed;

bed; whence, after a ſhort ſtay, he modeſtly retired to his own apartment, and ſlept as uſual with his companions; with whom he continued to paſs his days and nights, never viſiting his bride but with the greateſt privacy and caution. In this manner they lived a long time, and had frequently children by their wives, before they ſaw their faces by day-light. The difficulty of their interviews afforded continual exerciſe for their temperance, which rendered their paſſions leſs languid, and their bodies more healthy and fruitful.

A child was no ſooner born, than the father was obliged to carry it to a place called *Leſche*, where ſome of the oldeſt men of the tribe were aſſembled, and carefully viewed the infant; and and if they found it luſty and well proportioned, they allotted to it one of the nine thouſand ſhares of land into which the country was divided: but if it appeared deformed and ſickly, they, to the diſgrace of human nature, had the ſavage cruelty to order it to be caſt into a place called *Apothetæ*, a deep cavern in the earth near the mountain *Taygetus*: weakly and wickedly concluding, that it was neither for the good of the child, nor for the public intereſt, that it ſhould be brought up, ſince according to them, nature had refuſed it the means of becoming a happy and uſeful member of ſociety, by denying it health and ſtrength*.

Their

* *Plutarch* mentions this horrid cuſtom without any mark of diſapprobation; but we could not follow

Their nurſes, however, were ſo careful and expert, that without ſwathing up the bodies of children, they were all ſtraight and well-proportioned; they uſed them to eat any ſort of meat, and not to be afraid of being in the dark or alone, and never indulged them in crying, fretfulneſs, or ill-humour. Upon which account *Spartan* nurſes were often bought by people of other countries.

The care of education was conſidered as of ſuch moment, that it was not even truſted to the parents.* The children were no ſooner

ſeven

follow his example; and we flatter ourſelves, that our deviating from him in this particular will need no apology. It is amazing, that a cuſtom ſo repugnant to every ſentiment of humanity, ſhould be practiſed both by the politeſt and moſt ſavage nations. *Rome*, with all her boaſted wiſdom, allowed of the expoſing of infants; and it is ſtill practiſed, not only by the ſavage *Hottentots*, but by the proud *Chineſe*, who may be eſteemed the politeſt and moſt learned *Pagan* nation of the eaſt. See an entertainining extract of *Kolben's Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, in the *World Diſplayed*, Vol. X. p. 86. And *A Deſcription of China* in Vol. XVI. p. 176, of the ſame inſtructive work. Is it not amazing, that Chriſtianity was neceſſary to recal mankind, not only to piety and virtue, but to the gratification of the natural affections?

* *Ariſtotle* obſerves, that it was the great maxim of *Lycurgus*, that as children belong to the ſtate, their education ought to be directed by the ſtate, and the views and intereſts of the ſtate only conſidered. For this reaſon he deſired they ſhould be

all

ſeven years old, than they were enrolled in certain companies and claſſes, where they all lived under the ſame order and diſcipline, performing their exerciſes, and taking their recreations in common. Here he who ſhewed the moſt conduct and courage, was made Captain; the reſt obeyed his orders, and patiently underwent whatſoever puniſhment he inflicted: ſo that they were early inured to the continual exerciſe of a ready and exact obedience. As for learning, they gave them juſt as much as was neceſſary; their chief care was to teach them to be good ſubjects, to endure labour, and to conquer their enemies. Thus as they grew in years their exerciſes were proportionably increaſed; their heads were ſhaved, they were accuſtomed to go bare-foot, and for the moſt part to play naked.

After they were twelve years of age, they were no longer allowed to wear double garments. One coat ſerved them a year, and they ſeldom bathed or anointed themſelves; this being only permitted on ſome particular days. Each company lodged together upon beds made of reeds, which they themſelves gathered upon the banks of the *Eurotas*; and becauſe their points were ſharp, they were to break them off with their hands without a knife: they provided againſt the cold of winter, by mixing ſome

all educated in common, and not left to the humour and caprice of their parents; who generally, through a ſoft and blind indulgence, and a miſtaken tenderneſs, at once enervate both the bodies and minds of their children. *Rollin's Ancient Hiſt.*

thiſtle-

thiſtle-down with their ruſhes, which was thought ſufficient to keep them warm.

At this age every promiſing and well-diſpoſed youth had a friend and patron to bear him company: the old men too obſerved them with more care, coming often to their ſchools to ſee and hear them contend either in ſtrength or wit; and admoniſhed or corrected them if they committed a fault.

One of the beſt and ableſt men in the city was always appointed as a ſuperintendent over them; and he choſe a Captain for each company, who was always one of the moſt prudent and reſolute of thoſe they called *Irens*, who were uſually twenty years of age. This young man made them wait upon him as his ſervants, ſending the eldeſt to fetch wood, and the younger to gather herbs; and theſe they ſtole *, as they alſo did whatever meat they could get; watching all opportunities when people were aſleep,

* It is certain that the laws of juſtice ought to be held ſacred, and that every kind of theft is a violation of thoſe rights for the ſecurity of which mankind firſt entered into ſociety: but with reſpect to thoſe thefts enjoined by *Lycurgus*, they were rather nominal than real; for as the people lived in ſome ſort in common, and had ſcarcely any thing they could call their own, what was thus taken was in a manner taken by law out of the common ſtock. The intent of the legiſlator was to inſpire the *Spartan* youth, who were all deſigned for war, with the greater boldneſs, ſubtilty and addreſs; to inure them betimes to the life of a ſoldier, to live upon little, and to be able to ſhift for themſelves.

or more careleſs than uſual: but if they were caught, they were ſeverely whipped, and puniſhed with hunger for their neglect and want of dexterity. Hence the *Lacedæmonian* children were ſo cautious and afraid of being diſcovered, that a youth having ſtolen a young fox, and hid it under his coat, ſuffered it even to tear out his bowels with its teeth and claws; and thus died on the ſpot, rather than diſcover it. What is ſtill practiſed by the *Spartan* youth is ſufficient to give credit to this ſtory; for I myſelf have ſeen ſeveral of them endure whipping to death, at the foot of the altar of *Diana*, ſurnamed *Orthia* †.

† It is ſaid that this was the *Diana Taurica*, whoſe ſtatue was ſtolen by *Oreſtes* and *Iphigenia*, and brought to *Sparta*; but that while they were there offering to her the firſt ſacrifice after they had found her, a quarrel aroſe among the people preſent, in which much blood was ſhed. The oracle being conſulted, on the manner of expiating the guilt of this profanation, anſwered, "Let the altar of the Goddeſs be ſprinkled with blood." Hence arose the barbarous cuſtom of annually offering to her a man choſen by lot for that purpoſe. This cuſtom was however aboliſhed by *Lycurgus*; but to keep to the letter of the oracle, he ordained that the altar ſhould be ſprinkled with the blood of ſome of the youth who were to be whipt round it. The prieſteſs during the whole ceremony held the ſtatue of the Goddeſs which was ſmall and light; but when thoſe employed in ſcourging the young men ſpared any of them, ſhe pretended that the ſtatue grew ſo heavy that ſhe could not ſupport it. For

The youth were taught a conciſe and comprehenſive manner of expreſſion; for *Lycurgus*, who, as I have already obſerved, ordered that a large piece of money ſhould be of little value, would, on the contrary, allow no diſcourſe to be current, that did not in a few words contain a great deal of weighty ſenſe. They were alſo no leſs fond of poetry and muſic, than they were of conciſeneſs and purity of language in their ordinary diſcourſe. Their ſongs had ſuch a peculiar fire and ſpirit, as awakened all the vigour of the mind, urged men to action, and inflamed them with an enthuſiaſtic ardour. They were uſually wrote in praiſe of thoſe who had died in defence of the country, or to laſh thoſe who were afraid of expiring in ſo good a cauſe. In theſe they alſo enumerated their paſt exploits, and expreſſed the ardour with which they aſpired after freſh military glory.

Before they engaged in battle, the King offered a ſacrifice to the Muſes, probably to put the ſoldiers in mind of the ſongs in which their exploits would be mentioned, and to animate them to the performance of great and glorious actions. At theſe times they relaxed the ſeverity of their diſcipline in favour of their young men, ſuffering them to curl and perfume their hair, and to have coſtly arms and fine cloaths. Their fare was not ſo hard, and their diſcipline was leſs rigorous; ſo that they were the only people in the world to whom war gave repoſe. When their army was drawn

this cruel ceremony, the feſtival of this Goddeſs was termed the *Flagellation*.

up, and the enemy near, the King sacrificed a goat; and commanding the soldiers to set their garlands upon their heads, and the musicians to play the tune of the hymn to *Castor* and *Pollux*, began the *Pæon* himself, which served for a signal for the attack. They marched to the combat without any disorder in their ranks, and with a sedate alacrity, measuring their steps by the music of their flutes, were neither possessed with fear nor transported with fury, but proceeded with deliberate valour, and confidence of success: and by the side of the King one always fought who had been crowned at the public games at *Greece*. On their having thrown their enemies into confusion, they pursued the advantage till they had put them to flight, and then sounded a retreat; thinking it unworthy of them to kill men who made no resistance. This conduct not only shewed their magnanimity, but had a considerable advantage; for the enemy, knowing they never injured those who fled, generally consulted their safety by flight *.

The

* *Xenophon*, in his Treatise of the *Spartan* Commonwealth, says, that *Lycurgus* brought military discipline to perfection; and that his inventions of that kind were of more use than any that preceded them. Their first and most inviolable law was never to fly, whatever superiority of numbers the enemy's army might consist of; never to quit their post; never to deliver up their arms, and either to conquer or die on the spot. Hence a mother told her son, who was going to make a campaign, that he

The *Spartan* diſcipline laſted as long as life; for the whole city reſembled a great camp, in which every man had his ſhare of proviſions and of buſineſs; and the whole courſe of their lives was that of men who thought they were born, not ſo much for themſelves as for their country. One of the chief bleſſings *Lycurgus* procured for them was the enjoyment of great leiſure, which proceeded from his forbidding them to till the land, or to uſe mechanical trades. Indeed it was needleſs for them to waſte themſelves with anxiety and toil, in order to heap up riches, which when obtained were of no value; for every thing was performed by the ſlaves. Upon the prohibition of gold and ſilver, all law-ſuits ceaſed of courſe; for there was now no ſuch thing among them as wealth or

he ſhould return either with, or upon his ſhield: and another hearing that her ſon was killed in fighting for his country, coolly anſwered, "I "brought him into the world for no other end." This diſpoſition was general among the *Spartans*; for after the famous battle of *Leuctra*, ſo fatal to that nation, the parents of thoſe who died in the action congratulated each other, and went to the temples to thank the Gods that their children had done their duty: but the relations of thoſe who ſurvived the defeat were inconſolable. If any of the *Spartans* fled in battle, they were for ever diſgraced; and were not only excluded from all poſts and employments in the ſtate, from all aſſemblies and public diverſions; but it was reckoned ſcandalous to make alliances with them by marriage; and a thouſand affronts and inſults were publicly offered them with impunity.

poverty; they enjoyed an equality of plenty and their wants were eaſily ſupplied. All their time, except when they were in the field, was ſpent in the public ſchools, in their exerciſes and hunting matches, in dancing, or in places where they met for converſation. The most honourable employment of the old was frequenting the ſchools for exerciſe, and places of converſation, where they diſcourſed agreeably not about money and trade; but in praiſe of ſome good action, or to cenſure ſome fault that had been committed; which was done with ſuch wit and good humour, as to correct without offending.

Nor was *Lycurgus* himſelf ſullen or auſtere for as *Soſibius* relates, he dedicated a little ſhrine to the God of Laughter, and introduced a ſeaſonable mirth to give a reliſh to their exerciſes and ſpare diet. Upon the whole, he bred up his citizens in ſuch a manner, that they neither could, nor would live by themſelves; but endeavoured to unite like a ſwarm of bees in a cluſter about their King; diveſting themſelves of all concern for their private intereſt, and conſtantly actuated by an enthuſiaſtic zeal for the benefit and honour of their country. The *Pædaretus* being refuſed admiſſion into the list of the three hundred,* went home well ſatisfied, ſaying, that *he rejoiced to find there* were

* It was cuſtomary for the *Ephori* to appoint three officers, each of whom choſe a hundred of the beſt men he could find; and being one of that number was the firſt degree of honour in the city.

three hundred better citizens in Sparta *than himſelf:* and *Argelonis*, the mother of *Braſidas*, aſking ſome ſtrangers who came from *Amphipolis*, if her ſon had died bravely as became a *Spartan*, they praiſed him highly, adding, "There is not ſuch "another left in *Sparta*." To which ſhe replied, "Don't ſay ſo? *Braſidas* was indeed a "brave man; but there are ſtill in *Sparta* many "braver than he."

The Senate, as was before obſerved, conſiſted of thoſe who were *Lycurgus*'s chief aſſiſtants in forming the government; and the vacancies he ordered to be ſupplied out of the beſt and moſt deſerving men of at leaſt ſixty years of age. The competition for this high office was the moſt glorious imaginable; for the diſpute was not who was ſwifteſt among the ſwift, or ſtrongeſt among the ſtrong; but who among the wiſe and good was the wiſeſt and beſt, whoſe merit was to be rewarded by his enjoying the power and authority of the whole commonwealth. Theſe were thus elected: the people being aſſembled, ſome perſons were locked up in a room near the place of election, where they could neither ſee nor be ſeen, but only hear the aſſembly without; for this affair, as well as moſt others of moment was decided by the ſhouts of the people. After this the competitors were brought in, one after another by lot, and paſſed through the aſſembly without ſpeaking; while thoſe who were locked up, ſet down the number and the loudneſs of the ſhouts, without knowing in whoſe favour each of them was made; but only that it was the firſt, ſecond, or third, and ſo in order, as they

they were brought in; and he who had the mo and the loudeſt acclamations was declared du elected. A garland was then put upon his hea and he went in proceſſion to all the temples t give thanks to the Gods: a multitude of you men followed him, with loud applauſes, whil the women ſung verſes to his honour, extollin the wiſdom and virtue of his paſt life. In thi manner he proceeded round the city, each of hi relations offering him a repaſt, ſaying, The cit honours thee with this banquet: but inſtead o accepting their invitation, he returned to th common table, where he formerly uſed to eat and was ſerved as before, only a ſecond mea was allowed him, which he ſet by. By the time ſupper was ended, all his female relation were aſſembled at the door; and he beckoning to her whom he moſt eſteemed, preſented he with the meſs he had ſaved, ſaying, "Thi "which was given me as a mark of the public "eſteem, I preſent to thee:" upon which ſh was honourably attended home by the reſt o women.

Lycurgus, in order to baniſh ſuperſtition from their funerals, made ſeveral wiſe regulations: he allowed them to bury their dead within the city, and by having their tombs near the temples, removed the ſcruples of the people, who imagined that they were defiled by touching a corpſe, or treading on a grave. He commanded that nothing ſhould be put into the ground with the body, which was only to be wrapt in a red cloth with a few olive leaves, and no name were to be inſcribed on the tombs, but only thoſe

thoſe of the men who died in war, or of the women employed in ſacred offices: the time appointed for mourning laſted but eleven days, and on the twelfth an end was put to it by offering a ſacrifice to *Ceres*. He took care that every circumſtance and action of life ſhould lead to the love of virtue, and the contempt of vice. *Sparta* was every where filled with wiſe inſtructions and good examples, which the people having from their very infancy always before their eyes, could not fail to copy. He would not allow a free liberty to all to travel into foreign countries, leſt they ſhould bring in foreign manners and cuſtoms; and baniſhed all ſtrangers from *Sparta*, who could not give a good reaſon for their coming thither; not for fear of their being inſtructed in the form of the government, and their improving in valour and virtue, but of their corrupting the manners of the people.

When the laws of *Lycurgus* had taken deep root in the minds of his countrymen, and cuſtom had rendered them familiar, he was filled with pleaſure at the contemplation of the greatneſs and beauty of his political œconomy, every part of which was now put in action, and moved in due order. He then conceived the deſign of rendering it immortal, and of delivering it down unchangeable to poſterity. For this purpoſe, he called an extraordinary aſſembly of all the people, and told them, that he now thought both the happineſs and virtue of the ſtate well eſtabliſhed; but that there was a thing of the greateſt importance ſtill behind,

hind, which he did not think fit to impart till he had consulted the oracle: in the mean time he desired that they would strictly observe his laws till his return from *Delphi*, and then he would do as the God should direct. To this they all readily consented, and desired him to hasten his journey; but before his departure he administered an oath to the two Kings, to the Senate, and all the Commons, that during his absence they would inviolably maintain the form of government he had established. He then set out for *Delphi*, and having there sacrificed to *Apollo*, asked him, Whether the laws he had established were sufficient to make a people virtuous and happy? The answer he received was, that They were excellent, and that the city should continue in the highest renown while it observed the polity of *Lycurgus*. This he wrote down, and sent to *Sparta*: and having sacrificed again to *Apollo*, took leave of his friends, and his son, and then resolving that the *Spartans* should never be released from the oath they had taken, volantarily put an end to his life by a total abstinence from food, hoping that he should thus secure to his country those advantages which he in his life had obtained for them, since they had sworn to observe his laws till his return. Nor was he deceived in his expectations, for by the strict observance of his laws, *Sparta* continued the chief city of *Greece*, both with respect to good government at home, and reputation abroad, for the space of five hundred years; during which there was no alteration made in the government; for

to the creation of the *Ephori* *, that proved rather an enforcement than a relaxation of the diſcipline of the city; for though they were thought to be choſen in favour of the people, they in reality increaſed the power of the Senate. While the laws of *Lycurgus* were obſerved, the good order and government which prevailed in *Sparta* reſembled more the virtuous diſcipline of ſome ſevere Philoſopher, than the political regulations of a commonwealth; and gained ſuch influence, that *Greece* willingly ſubmitted to their authority: they deſtroyed tyranny and uſurpation, put an end to wars, and compoſed civil diſſentions; and that without taking arms, but merely by ſending an Ambaſſador, about whom the people eagerly aſſembled, and were immediately reduced to order. It was not, however, the deſign of *Lycurgus* that this city ſhould govern others; he thought that the happineſs of a kingdom, as that of a private man conſiſted in the exerciſe of virtue, and the eſtabliſhment of inward tranquillity and or-

* The *Ephori* were created about 130 years after *Lycurgus*. They were five in number, and remained but one year in office. They were choſen out of the people; and in that reſpect reſembled the *Roman* tribunes. Their authority extended to the arreſting and impriſoning their Kings, as it happened in the caſe of *Pauſanias*. They were inſtituted in the reign of *Theopompus*, whoſe wife reproaching him that he would leave the royal authority to his children, in a worſe condition than he found it; "On the contrary, ſaid he, I ſhall "leave them in a much better condition, as it will "be more permanent."

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der. His principal aim was therefore to inſpire his people with generous ſentiments; to teach them to moderate their deſires, and by theſe means to ſecure the continuance of the republic. It indeed flouriſhed, till in the reign of *Agis*, money was firſt brought to *Sparta*, and with it came the greedy deſire of riches. *Lyſander* brought plenty of gold and ſilver from the wars, and though he himſelf was above being corrupted by money, it filled his country with avarice and luxury, which ſubverted the laws and inſtitutions of *Lycurgus*.

This great legiſlator, who deſerves to be preferred to all the other law-givers of *Greece*, has ſtill a temple, in which ſacrifice is annually offered to him. It is ſaid, that he left but one ſon, named *Antiorus*, who dying without iſſue his race was extinct. However, his relations and friends for a long time after held an annual aſſembly in commemoration of him, and the days of their meeting were called *Lycurgides*. Yet authors vary in their opinions with reſpect to the place where he died, and ſome of them ſay, that his bones were brought to *Sparta*. However, *Ariſtocrates*, the ſon of *Hipparchus*, maintains, that he died in *Crete*, and that when the perſons where he lodged had burned his body, they caſt the aſhes into the ſea, which he himſelf had deſired, from the apprehenſion, that if his remains ſhould be tranſported to *Sparta*, the people thinking themſelves releaſed from their oath, might make innovations in the government, and deſtroy the beautiful political ſtructure he had raiſed.

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THE LIFE OF *NUMA*.

IN giving the life of *Numa*, it is neceſſary to mention ſome paſſages in the *Roman* hiſtory, which prepared the way for his advancement to the throne. On the 7th of the month, afterwards called *July*, in the 37th year from the foundation of *Rome*, *Romulus* was offering a public ſacrifice in preſence of the Senate and moſt of the people, when a ſudden tempeſt aroſe, at which the people being terrified, fled in confuſion. During this whirlwind *Romulus* diſappeared, and his body was never found. This raiſed ſtrong ſuſpicions againſt the Senate, and a report was ſpread, that they having been long tired of a monarchical government,

had murdered the King, with a deſign to ſeize the power into their own hands; which was the more probable, as his late behaviour to the Senate had appeared too imperious and ſevere.

This ſuſpicion they removed, by appointing divine honours to be paid to *Romulus*, as to one tranſlated to a more exalted ſtate; and *Proculus*, one of the Senators, ſwore that he ſaw him aſcend completely armed to heaven, and heard him command, that he ſhould thenceforward be called *Quirinus*.

This event was followed by various factions among the commonalty, and great jealouſy among the Senators: all now agreed that it was neceſſary to have a King; but the *Romans* and *Sabines* who dwelt in the city, were each deſirous that he ſhould be choſen out of their body. To put a ſtop to this diſcord, the Senators, who were an hundred and fifty in number, determined that each of that body ſhould in turn execute the office of ſupreme magiſtrate, offer the ſolemn ſacrifices, and diſpatch judicial cauſes for the ſpace of ſix hours by day, and ſix by night. This viciſſitude of power ſeemed likely to prevent the envy of the common people, when they could behold one elevated to the rank of a Sovereign, levelled in the ſpace of a day to the private condition of a ſubject. This form of government, which was termed the Interregnum, did not eſcape the cenſure of the vulgar, who imagined that the Senators deſigned to keep the power in their hands, without ever chuſing a King: but

at length both parties came to this concluſion, that the one ſhould chuſe a Sovereign out of the body of the other: a happy expedient, by which it was imagined he would have an equal affection for both parties, the one as his electors, and the other as his kindred and countrymen.

In purſuance of this agreement, the *Sabines* remitted the choice to the *Romans*, who preferred a *Sabine* King elected by themſelves, to a *Roman* King choſen by the *Sabines*; and after ſome deliberation, fixed their choice on *Numa Pompilius* a *Sabine*; who, though he was not one of thoſe who had ſettled at *Rome*, was ſo celebrated for his virtue, that he was immediately accepted with joy by the *Sabines*, who were more tranſported at the choice, than even the *Romans* themſelves.

Some of the principal men of both parties were now deputed to inform him of their determination, and to intreat him to accept the government. *Numa* reſided at *Cures**, a conſiderable city of the *Sabines*; he was the ſon of an illuſtrious perſon named *Pomponius*, and was the youngeſt of four brothers. His mind, which was happily formed for virtue, was improved by the exercise of patience, and the ſtudy of philoſophy; by which he had utterly extirpated, not only thoſe paſſions that are univerſally eſteemed mean and vile, but the rapacious diſpoſitions, which in the opinion of the barbarous nations were honourable: being perſuaded

* Now *Correſe*.

that the trueſt fortitude conſiſted in ſubduing the paſſions, and reducing them under the reſtraints of reaſon. Thus he baniſhed luxury from his houſe, and kindly aſſiſted the citizen and the ſtranger who applied to him for relief. His leiſure hours he employed, not in the purſuit of pleaſure, or of wealth, but in the worſhip of the immortal Gods, and the contemplation of their divine power and nature. His name had become ſo famous, that *Tatius*, *Romulus*'s aſſociate in the kingdom of *Rome*, had made him his ſon-in-law, by giving him his daughter *Tatia*. Yet he had choſen to live with the *Sabines*, in order to cheriſh his father in his old age; and even *Tatia* preferred the private condition of her huſband, to the honours and ſplendour ſhe might have enjoyed in her father's court. She died, after being married thirteen years; when *Numa* leaving the city, betook himſelf to a country life, and being in love with ſolitude and retirement, frequented the groves and fields conſecrated to the Gods. Hence aroſe the fabulous ſtory of his being honoured with the love of the Goddeſs *Egeria*, by frequent converſe with whom he was ſaid to attain a more than human knowledge in ſacred and divine ſubjects. Perhaps it is not incongruous to ſuppoſe, that a like ſpirit might inſpire *Zaleucus*, *Minos*, *Zoroaſter*, *Lycurgus*, and many others who were Legiſlators, Governors, or Founders of commonwealths. But there is no abſurdity in that other account, which ſome give of the proceedings of *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, and other famous men; that being to manage the un-

The ROMAN *Diadem presented to* NUMA.

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untractable and perverſe diſpoſition of the multitude, and deſigning to introduce great innovations in their political eſtabliſhment, they pretended to act under the influence of a divine power, from a regard to the welfare of thoſe who were to be deceived into their own happineſs.

When the Ambaſſadors came from *Rome* to make *Numa* an offer of the kingdom, he was about forty years of age. *Proculus* and *Veleſus*, the ſpeakers on this occaſion, were perſons of ſuch eminence, that ſome time before it was thought the people would have choſen one of them King. As they ſuppoſed that *Numa* would gladly embrace the offer, their ſpeech was but ſhort: but in the preſence of his father, and *Martius*, one of his kinſmen, he anſwered, "Every alteration in life is dangerous; but "'tis madneſs in one who wants no conveni- "ences, no accommodations, and whoſe ſitua- "tion is attended with no diſagreeable cir- "cumſtances, to change the plan of life to "which he has been long accuſtomed, and "which being ſure and certain, muſt be pre- "ferable to one that is doubtful and unknown. "But the difficulties of this government are in- "deed too certain, if we may judge of what "befel *Romulus*, who did not eſcape the ſuſ- "picion of having plotted againſt the life of his "colleague *Tatius*; nor was the Senate free from "the ſuſpicion of having treaſonably murdered "*Romulus*. Yet he is by every one eſteemed "to have ſprung from the Gods; and to have "been nurſed and preſerved in his infancy af-

" ter a miraculus manner: but as for me, I
" am only of mortal race, and have been nurſed
" and educated by perſons well known. My
" diſpoſitions are a love of retirement, and of
" ſtudies that are inconſiſtent with buſineſs and
" action. A ſtrong and deep-rooted love of
" peace has grown up within me, together
" with delight in the ſociety of men who aſ-
" ſemble only for the worſhip of the Gods,
" or for friendly converſation, and employ the
" reſt of their time in tilling their land, and
" feeding their flocks. *Romulus* perhaps, may
" have left you, O *Romans!* involved in
" unavoidable wars, that require an active and
" and vigorous King. Your people long ac-
" cuſtomed to arms, are elated by ſucceſs; and
" their ambition of extending their conqueſts
" and increaſing their power is but too appa-
" rent. How ridiculous then would the Prince
" render himſelf, who ſhould endeavour to in-
" culcate the worſhip of the Gods, and to
" teach an high reverence for juſtice, and a
" deteſtation of violence and war, to a city
" that rather requires a martial General, than
" a King fond of peace?

Upon this refuſal, the Ambaſſadors beſought him not to ſuffer them to relapſe into their former civil diſcord, there being no perſon but himſelf agreeable to both parties. At length, his father and *Martius* taking him aſide, perſuaded him to accept ſo noble and divine a gift. " Though, ſaid they, your modera-
" tion renders you inſenſible to riches, and
" makes you deſpiſe the glory of dominion,

" which

"which you eſteem as nothing when compared "with that of virtue, remember, that to rule "well is offering the moſt acceptable ſervice "to the Gods, by whom you are called to a "a throne, that your love of juſtice and equity "may not remain inactive and fruitleſs. Re-"ject not therefore a Kingdom, which opens "ſo wide a field for the performance of great "and noble actions. By your means the wor-"ſhip of the Gods may be performed with "more ſolemnity, and the minds of men, by "your example, be rendered more ſubmiſſive "to the dictates of religion. The *Romans* loved "*Tatius*, though a foreigner, and have immor-"talized the memory of *Romulus*, by paying "him divine honours. Who knows but this "victorious people may be tired of war, and "abounding in triumphs and ſpoils, deſire "now a ruler filled with lenity and juſtice, to "govern them in peace, under the influence "of good and ſalutary laws. But ſhould the "mad impetuous deſire of war ſtill continue, it "will be happy for *Rome* to have the reigns held "by a moderating hand; and happy will it be for "you to unite the whole *Sabine* nation in the "ſtricteſt bands of love and friendſhip with ſo "great a city." Theſe perſuaſions were ſtrength-ened by the zeal of his own fellow citizens, who came to conjure him to accept the offer, as the only means of uniting both nations.

Numa no ſooner yielded, than he ſacrificed to the Gods, and then ſet forwards towards *Rome*.* On the way he was met by the ſenate

* This happened in the 39th year of *Rome*, and about the 713th before the Chriſtian Æra.

and people, who eagerly desired to receive him; the women welcomed him with joyful acclamations, and sacrifices were offered in all the temples. On his entering the Forum, *Spurius Vettius*, whose turn it was to be Interrex or Governor, putting it to the vote, whether *Numa* should be King, he was unanimously elected. The royal robes were then brought him; but he refused to be invested with them till he had first consulted the Gods. Accordingly he ascended the *Tarpeian* rock, accompanied by the Priests and Augurs; mean while the multitude assembled in the Forum, stood in silent expectation, which was soon determined by the appearance of a flight of such birds as were accounted fortunate. *Numa* then putting on the royal robes, descended from the hill into the Forum, where he was received with the shouts and acclamations of the people, by whom he was esteemed a most religious Prince, highly favoured by the Gods.

He first dismissed the *Celeres*, a band of 300 men, whom *Romulus* constantly kept for his life-guard; for he thought it unreasonable to shew any distrust of those who placed such confidence in him. He then added to the two Flamens or Priests of *Jupiter* and *Mars*, a third in honour of *Romulus*, whom he called *Flamen Quirinalis*.

Numa was sensible that *Rome*, from its very first original, had been a receptacle for the most bold and daring spirits; who, after the commission of some desperate enterprize, had from every quarter sought for shelter there, and that the

the city, by frequent incurſions on the territories of its neighbours, and continual wars, had encreaſed in power by encountering dangers, as piles driven into the earth, by the violent blows they receive, become more fixed and ſtable; he therefore reſolved to endeavour by the influence of religion, to ſoften the fierce and martial diſpoſition of the people, and to render them more juſt and humane. This he effected, chiefly by ſacrifices, proceſſions, and religious dances, at which he aſſiſted in perſon; for by mixing an agreeable amuſement with devotion, he ſoothed the people, and rendered their temper, which was too fiery and martial, more calm and ſedate. He alſo ſometimes filled their imaginations with religious terrors, and by pretended apparitions, ſubdued their minds, and rendered them ſubmiſſive by the force of ſuperſtition.

Hence has ariſen the opinion that *Numa* converſed with *Pythagoras*, and drew from him his learning and his wiſdom: for religious ceremonies and employments formed a great part of the philoſophy of the one, and of the policy of the other.* *Pythagoras* practiſed many things that had a miraculous appearance: in like manner *Numa*, as hath been already ob-

* The conformity of *Numa*'s ſentiments with thoſe of *Pythagoras* has made ſome authors believe him to be ſcholar to that famous Philoſopher, and formed by his inſtructious: but *Pythagoras*'s firſt appearance in *Italy* was above 150 years after *Numa*, in the reign of *Tarquin the Proud*, or of *Servius Tullius*.

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ſerved, feigned that a certain Goddeſs, or mo
tain nymph, was in love with him, and that
alſo familiarly converſed with the Muſes, to wh
he aſcribed moſt of his revelations, and one
them he recommended to the veneration of t
Romans, under the name of *Tacita*, or *Silen*
Pythagoras ſuppoſed that the Supreme Bei
was incorruptible and inviſible; and *Numa* fo
bad the *Romans* to repreſent him in the form
man or beaſt; nor was there any picture or ſt
tue of the Deity formerly admitted among them
for during the firſt 170 years of *Rome*, the
erected temples and altars, but made no image
thinking it impious to repreſent the moſt e
cellent beings by objects ſo baſe and unworthy
and that it was ſolely by the underſtandin
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Deity. His ſacrifices alſo reſembled thoſe
Pythagoras; for they were without the effuſio
of blood, and chiefly conſiſted of flowers, l
bations of wine, and ſuch things as might mo
eaſily be had.

The original inſtitution of the Prieſts calle
Pontifices, is generally aſcribed to *Numa*. Th
chief of theſe, called the *Pontifex Maximu*
preſided over the ſacred rites; and had the di
rection of every thing neceſſary in worſhippin
or ſupplicating the Gods, and was alſo overſee
of the Veſtals. To *Numa* is attributed the in
ſtitution of the Veſtal Virgins,* and the man
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* This order was, however, founded before hi
time: but *Numa* regulated the miniſtry and offic

ner of ordering the perpetual fire, which was committed to their care, either from the ſuppoſition that ſuch a pure and uncorrupt ſubſtance as fire, ſhould be committed to the keeping of perſons whoſe bodies were chaſte and unpolluted; or becauſe being unfruitful, and producing nothing, it was the fitteſt emblem of the ſteril condition of virginity.

Numa is alſo ſaid to have built the temple of *Veſta*, as a repoſitory for the ſacred fire. This ſtructure he erected in a circular form, not with the deſign to repreſent the figure of the earth; but the frame of the univerſe, in the centre of which the *Pythagoreans* place the element of fire and repreſent the earth as having a circular motion about it.

Numa regulated the ceremonies to be obſerved at funerals, and the time of mourning according to the age of the deceaſed. He was likewiſe the founder of ſeveral other orders of Prieſts, particularly of the *Salii* and the *Fetiales*. The latter were the preſervers of peace, and had their name from their office, which was to determine diſputes by an amicable conference; for they were not to allow arms to be taken up, till there were no hopes of an accommodation. They were frequently ſent to require ſatisfaction of thoſe who had injured the *Romans*, and if this was denied, they then called the Gods to witneſs, and uttered many dreadful imprecations on themſelves and their

of the Veſtals; a particular account of whom may be ſeen in the *New Pantheon*.

country,

country, if their undertaking was not juſt, t
then declared war.

The *Salii* were inſtituted on the follow
occaſion. In the eighth year of the reign
Numa, a terrible peſtilence ſpread over all
ly, and particularly the city of *Rome*; dur
which, it is ſaid that a brazen target fell f
heaven into the hands of *Numa*, who decla
that he was told by the nymph *Egeria*, and
Muſes, that it was ſent from heaven for the
and ſafety of the city, and that it was to
preſerved with the greateſt care, by mak
eleven others ſo like it, that in caſe there ſho
be a deſign to ſteal it away, the true one mi
not be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe that were co
terfeit. *Numa* having therefore produced
target, and commanded the beſt artiſts to
their ſkill on this occaſion, all of them d
paired of ſucceſs, except *Veturius Mamuri*
who ſucceeded ſo well, and made them all
perfectly reſemble the true one, that even *N*
himſelf could not diſtinguiſh the original fr
the copy. Theſe targets, which were cal
Ancylia, were committed to the care of the
lii, who in the month of *March*, ſtill carry
ſacred targets through the city, ſtriking u
them with ſhort ſwords; they wear a pur
veſt, and on their heads a brazen helmet, a
proceed along dancing with great agility.

* He was probably in the ſecret, and made
original one, which *Numa* pretended fell from h
ven.

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Numa having inſtituted theſe ſeveral orders of Prieſts, erected a royal palace, where he ſpent moſt of his time in the offices of religion; in giving inſtructions to the Prieſts, or in converſing with them on divine ſubjects. He had alſo another houſe in the *Quirinalis*. By the religious diſcipline, and numerous ceremonies he introduced, the citizens were rendered ſo tractable, and ſtood in ſuch awe and reverence of his power, that they received for truth the moſt abſurd fables, and thought nothing either incredible or impoſſible, which he affirmed or undertook. 'Tis ſaid that he once invited a great number of citizens to an entertainment, in which the veſſels were mean, and the proviſions plain and homely. The gueſts were no ſooner ſeated, than he began to inform them, that the Goddeſs with whom he uſed to converſe was juſt coming in: when ſuddenly the room was furniſhed with ſuperb veſſels, and the table covered with a magnificent entertainment*.

* If this change was made in the preſence of the *Romans*, the machines by which this ſeeming miracle was performed, muſt have been ſkilfully contrived; but *Dionyſius* tells this ſtory in a much more probable manner. *Numa* commanded theſe *Romans*, ſays he, to attend him in the morning; and then led them through all the apartments of his palace, in which nothing was to be ſeen but very ordinary furniture, without any ſigns of a great entertainment provided for a multitude of gueſts. He did not diſmiſs them till very late in the

Numa is likewiſe ſaid to have been the f
who built a temple to *Faith*, and to *Termin*
and who taught the *Romans*, that to ſwear
Faith was the moſt ſolemn of all oaths. *Te*
minus is the God of bounds, and 'tis very ce
tain, that *Numa* firſt preſcribed bounds to t
territories of *Rome*; for *Romulus* would nev
make ſo plain a confeſſion, how much he h
encroached on the lands of his neighbour
for as bounds are to thoſe who obſerve the
fences againſt arbitrary invaſion; ſo they a
evidences of the injuſtice of thoſe who viola
them.

The territory belonging to the city was
firſt inconſiderable, but *Romulus* had greatly e
larged it, and *Numa* divided it among the i
digent part of the citizens, engaging them
apply to agriculture as the ſureſt means to ma
them in love with peace, and as more like
to improve the mind, than to procure gre
riches. Several of theſe ſhares of land we
comprehended in one general diviſion, to whi
he gave the name of *Pagus*, and over each
theſe he appointed Governors and Overſee
He even ſometimes went in perſon to take
ſurvey of them, when forming a judgment
every man's inclinations and manners, by t
improvements he had made, he preferred tho

the day, and then invited them to ſup with h
that evening: at their return they found eve
thing magnificently rich, the couches exceedi
coſtly, the tables ſumptuouſly furniſhed, and c
vered with the greateſt dainties.

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who had merited moſt to honours and authority, and excited the ſlothful and indolent to induſtry by his reproofs.

But among all his political inſtitutions, that which is moſt admired, is his diſtribution of the people according to their ſeveral arts and profeſſions. It has been already obſerved, that the inhabitants of the city were compoſed of two nations, and it ſtill ſeemed impoſſible perfectly to unite them, and to put a period to the perpetual claſhing and contention of the two parties. But conſidering that hard bodies, which while in their groſs bulk will not mix, may be incorporated by being reduced into ſmall parts, he diſtributed the whole people into many ſmall diviſions, according to their ſeveral arts or trades, as goldſmiths, dyers, ſhoemakers, braſiers, muſicians, tanners, potters, and other artificers; to each of which were appointed their reſpective halls, courts, and religious ceremonies proper to their ſeveral companies. Thus he baniſhed from the city the cuſtom of calling one a *Sabine* and another a *Roman*; one a partiſan of *Tatius*, and another of *Romulus*.

Among his other political inſtitutions, his amendment of the law which allows fathers to to ſell their children was very juſt; for he exempted ſuch as were married from that ſubjection, on condition they married with the approbation of their parents.

He likewiſe attempted the reformation of the calendar: for during the reign of *Romulus*, they only kept to this rule, that the whole year con-

tained 360 days: but *Numa* computing th
there was eleven days difference between t
ſolar and the lunar year, the ſolar year conſi
ing of 365 days, and the lunar of 354; t
remedy this inequality, he doubled the eleve
days in the latter, and every other year adde
an intercalary month of twenty-two day
which he called *Mercidinus*, and placed it aft
February. He likewiſe changed the order
the months: for *March*, which was eſteeme
the firſt, he put into the third place; *Januar*
which in *Romulus*'s time was the eleventh, h
made the firſt; and *February*, which was th
twelfth and laſt, he cauſed to be the ſecond
Some maintain that he entirely added the month
of *January* and *February*, and that the *Roma*
had originally only ten months in the year.

The temple of *Janus* was never opened d
ring the whole reign of *Numa*; but continue
ſhut forty-two years together. Such an enti
ceſſation of war was there on all ſides: for n
only the people of *Rome*, but the inhabitan
of all the neighbouring cities, were tamed an
ſoftened by the mild government of this Prince
A general inclination to peace was infuſed int
all; they applied themſelves to the cultivatio
of their lands, to the quiet education of the
children, and to the worſhip of the Gods; fe
tivals, ſocial banquets, mutual benevolence
viſiting and converſing freely without fear o
jealouſy, were common all over *Italy*; while
from *Numa*'s wiſdom, as from a fountain, flow
ed univerſal juſtice and integrity, and his calm
tranquility diffuſed itſelf all around.

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Thus happily did he reign, till being gradually worn away by old age and a gentle decline, he died when he was a little above eighty years old. The honours paid him at his funeral ſhewed how much he was beloved and revered. All the people who were in alliance and amity with him, aſſembled together on this occaſion, with public preſents and garlands: the Senators carried the bier on which the body was laid, and the Prieſts accompanied the ſolemn proceſſion: the reſt of the train, in which were many women and children, followed in tears, and uttering lamentations; as if, inſtead of aſſiſting at the interment of a King worn out with age, each had followed the corpſe of his deareſt friend who had died in the prime of life. They did not burn his body, becauſe 'tis ſaid he had given a particular command to the contrary: but they had two ſtone coffins which they buried under the hill *Janiculum**, in one of which was his corpſe, and in the other the books he had written: for having perfectly taught the Prieſts all they contained, he commanded that the ſacred books ſhould be buried with his body; as if he had thought that ſuch myſteries could not be kept and handed down to poſterity with ſufficient reſpect in lifeleſs writing.

Valerius Antias obſerves, that theſe books were twelve volumes in *Latin* on the ſacred offices, and twelve others in *Greek*, on philoſophical ſubjects; and that 500 years after,

* Now called *Montorio*.

when *Publius Cornelius* and *Marcus Bebius* were Conſuls, a violent rain waſhing away the earth that covered the coffins, one of them was found empty without the leaſt remains of an human body; but in the other were the above mentioned books; which, when *Petilius* the Prætor had read, he made oath in the Senate, that he thought it neither conſiſtent with juſtice nor religion to make them public; upon which they were all carried to the Forum and burnt*.

* This happened in the 573d year of *Rome*, when the religion introduced by *Numa* was corrupted, and had loſt all its primitive ſimplicity. How in particular could they publiſh works which forbad any viſible repreſentations of the Deity, at a time when idols were adored in every temple?

THE LIFE OF SOLON.

THIS great law-giver is generally allowed to have been the ſon of *Execeſtides*, a man of moderate wealth and power, though of the nobleſt family in *Athens*, he being deſcended from *Codrus**. *Solon* finding that his father had ruined his eſtate by his liberality, refuſed to live on the bounty

* *Codrus*, the ſeventeenth and laſt King of *Athens*, was remarkable for his bravery and his love of his country. For *Attica* being invaded, *Codrus*, upon conſulting the oracle, was told, that the invaders ſhould have ſucceſs if they did not kill the *Athenian* King; upon which, preferring the ſafety of his country to his own life, he diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a peaſant, and went to a place near the enemy's camp, where picking a quarrel, he

was

of his friends; and therefore, while young, applied himſelf to merchandize. In thoſe days, according to *Heſiod*, it was no ſhame for a man to work; and merchandize was eſteemed a very honourable profeſſion, as it brought home the uſeful products of barbarous nations, occaſioned friendly connections between people of different countries, furniſhed freſh objects of knowledge, and gave riſe to many ingenious arts. Thus *Plato* is ſaid to defray the expences of travelling, by ſelling oil in *Egypt*. However, the travels of *Solon* were ſubſervient to the ſtudy of moral philoſophy, more eſpecially to that part of it called policy, which teaches the art of government.

Solon's extraordinary merit placed him in the firſt rank among the ſeven wiſe men of *Greece*, who rendered the age in which they lived ſo illuſtrious. Theſe ſages ſometimes viſited each other; and one day *Solon* going to *Miletus* to ſee *Thales*, told him, that he wondered at his never deſiring a wife and children. *Thales* made him no anſwer; but a few days after, contrived that a ſtranger ſhould come into their company, and

was killed. The *Athenians* being informed of what had happened, ſent a herald to demand the body of the King; when the enemy were ſo much diſcouraged at the prediction of the oracle and the King's death, that they immediately broke up their camp, and the *Athenians*, out of reverence to *Codrus*'s memory, would never have another Governor by the name of King. *Potter's Antiquities* Vol. I. pag. 12.

pretend

pretend that he was juſt arrived from *Athens*, which he had left ten days before. *Solon*, upon this, aſked him what news there was in that city, when he came away. The ſtranger, who had been inſtructed beforehand, replied, that he had heard of none except the death of a young man, whom all the city attended to the grave; becauſe, they ſaid, he was the ſon of the worthieſt man of *Athens*, who was then abſent. Alas! cried *Solon*, interrupting the man's ſtory, how much is the poor father of the youth to be pitied! but pray, what is the good man's name? I heard his name, replied the ſtranger, but I have forgot it. I only remember, that people talked much of his wiſdom and juſtice. Every anſwer afforded new matter of trouble and terror to this inquiſitive father, who was ſo juſtly alarmed. Was it not, ſaid he at length, the ſon of *Solon?* The very ſame, replied the ſtranger. At theſe words, *Solon* rent his cloaths, and beat his breaſt; and expreſſing his ſorrow by tears and groans, abandoned himſelf to the moſt ſenſible affliction. *Thales* upon this, taking him by the hand, ſaid to him with a ſmile, Comfort yourſelf, my friend; all that has been told you is a mere fiction. Now you ſee the reaſon why I never married: 'tis becauſe I don't care to expoſe myſelf to ſuch trials and affliction, which are capable of ſhaking the courage of ſuch a man as you.

This motive is ſurely unworthy of a wiſe man; for he acts a very abſurd and mean part, who neglects to procure the comforts and accommodations of life, from the fear of loſing them;

them; for from the ſame principle, we ſhoul neither deſire wealth, nor glory, nor wiſdom ſince we may be deprived of all: *Thales* him ſelf, though unmarried, could be no more fre from ſolicitude than others, unleſs he likewi took care to avoid having either friends, or re lations, or country.

The *Athenians*, being tired with a tedious an unſucceſsful war againſt the *Megarenſians* for th iſland of *Salamin**, publiſhed a law, by whic it was made death for any to propoſe to reco ver it. *Solon*, who was now returned, wa vexed at this diſgrace, and perceiving that man thouſands of the youth were deſirous of re newing the war, but did not dare to propoſe it for fear of the law, he pretended madneſs, and having ſecretly wrote and got by heart, a ver elegant poem on the occaſion, ran into th market-place, with a cap on his head †, and while the people were gathering about him, mounted the ſtone on which the public crye uſed to ſtand, and then ſung the poem, which conſiſted of a hundred verſes. He had no ſooner done, than his friends began to commend it; eſpecially *Piſiſtratus*, who was his couſin; on which the law was repealed, and the war re newed under *Solon*'s conduct.

* *Salamin*, or *Salamis*, now called *Calouri*, is ſituated in the gulph of *Engia*, in *European Turkey*, oppoſite to *Athens*, and is about 50 miles in circumference.

† None but the ſick wore caps in *Athens*.

It

It is commonly ſaid, that *Piſiſtratus* and he now ſailed to *Colias*, where finding the women ſacrificing to *Ceres*, *Solon* ſent a truſty friend to *Salamin*, who pretending to be a deſerter, told the *Megarenſians**, that if they were deſirous of ſeizing the principal women of *Athens*, they muſt ſail with him immediately to *Colias*. The *Megarenſians*, having no ſuſpicion, immediately manned a ſhip, which *Solon* perceiving juſt as it put off from the iſland, he ſent away the women, and cauſing ſome beardleſs youths to be dreſſed in women's cloaths, and privately armed with daggers, he directed them to dance near the ſhore, till the enemy had landed. The *Megarenſians* were ſo eager to ſeize the women, that they ſtrove who ſhould leap out firſt; but were ſo warmly received, that not one of them eſcaped; and the *Athenians* then ſailing for the iſland, took it.

Others give a very different account of the manner in which this iſland was taken; and ſay, that *Solon* took with him 500 volunteers, who by a law paſſed in their favour were to have the government of the iſland, in caſe they were ſo happy as to take it, and ſetting ſail with a conſiderable number of fiſhing veſſels, and a galley of thirty oars, anchored in a bay of the

* Theſe were the inhabitants of *Megara*, a town of *Achaia*, now called *Megra*, and ſubject to the *Turks*: but though it now conſiſts of only 3 or 400 cottages; it was then a republic, and the *Megarenſians*, who had frequent wars with the *Athenians*, had conquered *Salamin*.

iſland.

iſland. Upon this the *Megarenſians* in great d order took arms, and ſent a ſhip to reconnoi the enemy. This veſſel coming too near, *Sol* took it, and ſecuring the *Megarenſians*, mann it with the braveſt of the *Athenians*, wh he ordered to ſail to the iſland. In the mea time he, with the other ſoldiers, marched agai the *Megarenſians* by land; and while theſe we engaged in fight, thoſe from the ſhip took t city. This account ſeems to be confirmed by cuſtom afterwards practiſed: for an *Athen* ſhip uſed to ſail ſilently to the iſland, and whi the people came down ſhouting, a man in a mour leapt out, and with a loud cry, ran to t promontory *Sciradium*, to meet thoſe that a proached upon the land. Near that promonto is a temple, which *Solon* dedicated to *Mars*, b cauſe he there defeated the *Megarenſians*.

The tranquility reſtored by the prudence an courage of *Solon*, who was as great a warrior a he was a ſtateſman, was but of ſhort duration: the *Athenians* relapſed into their ancient quar rels about the government of the common wealth: thoſe that lived upon the mountain were fond of a popular government; thoſe i the plains were for an oligarchy; and thoſe tha dwelt on the ſea coaſt were for having a mix government, compounded of thoſe two form blended together. Beſides theſe, there was a fourth party, which conſiſted only of the poor who were dreadfully harraſſed and oppreſſed by the rich, to whom they were indebted: ſome of them were made ſlaves at home, others were ſold to ſtrangers, and ſome were forced to ſell their

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their children, or to leave their country to avoid the cruelty of their creditors *. This unhappy party was determined to chuſe themſelves a chief, who ſhould deliver them from this inhuman oppreſſion, and make an entire change in the form of the government, and a new diviſion of the lands.

In this unhappy ſituation, ſo dangerous to the ſtate, all the wiſe *Athenians* caſt their eyes on *Solon*, who was obnoxious to neither party; for he had neither countenanced the cruelty and extortions of the rich, nor the rebellion of the poor; they therefore preſſed him to aſſiſt the commonwealth, by compoſing theſe differences. He was very unwilling to take upon him ſo dangerous a commiſſion; however, he was at laſt choſen Archon †, and conſtituted ſupreme arbiter and legiſlator, with the unanimous conſent of both parties.

Solon might now with the greateſt eaſe have made himſelf King; the chief men offered him abſolute power: many of the citizens adviſed

* Theſe barbarous cuſtoms were alſo long in uſe among the *Romans*; for by one of the laws of the twelve tables, the inſolvent debtor's perſon was forfeited to his creditors, who either detained him in priſon, or ſold him, as they thought fit. Nay, they were allowed by the laws to tear him in pieces, and divide him among them: however, none was ever known to make uſe of ſo inhuman a privilege.

† The Archons, who were the ſupreme magiſtrates of *Athens*, were nine in number, the chief of whom was called *The Archon* by way of eminence.

him to accept of it; and even the wiſeſt among them, thinking it impoſſible for human reaſon to bring about a favourable change conſiſtent with the laws, were not averſe to the ſupreme power being veſted in a man ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed for his wiſdom and juſtice. But, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances that were made him, and all the ſollicitations and reproaches of his friends, who treated his refuſal of the diadem, as the effect of puſillanimity and meanneſs of ſpirit, he was ſtill firm and inflexible, and would hearken to no other ſcheme, but the generous one of ſettling the form of government, upon the ſolid baſis of a juſt and reaſonable liberty. Yet, though he refuſed being inveſted with arbitrary power, he was not remiſs in the management of public affairs: he did not meanly ſtoop to the powerful, nor make laws to pleaſe thoſe who choſe him Archon: nor did he meddle with thoſe evils which he imagined incurable: he undertook to introduce no other alterations, but ſuch as he thought he could perſuade the citizens to comply with by force of reaſon and argument; wiſely mixing, as he himſelf ſaid, authority and power with juſtice and perſuaſion. Therefore, on being afterwards aſked, if he had left the *Athenians* the beſt laws that could be given them, he anſwered, I have eſtabliſhed the beſt they were capable of receiving.

He went ſo far as to put an end to the ſlavery and oppreſſion of thoſe poor citizens, whoſe debts and accumulated arrears had forced them to ſell their perſons and liberty, and reduce themſelves

themſelves to a ſtate of bondage; for an expreſs law was made which declared all debtors free and acquitted of all their debts.

This affair was attended with a circumſtance that gave him a great deal of vexation and concern. When he firſt determined to cancel the debts, he foreſaw that ſuch an edict, which would be conſidered as unjuſt, would give great offence: for which reaſon he endeavoured to introduce the law by a plauſible and ſpecious preamble. In order to this, he diſcloſed his deſign to ſome particular friends in whom he had the greateſt confidence; he uſed to conſult them in all his affairs, and now concerted with them the form, and the terms in which this edict ſhould be expreſſed. But they immediately taking the advantage, borrowed vaſt ſums of money of ſome rich men, which they laid out in purchaſing lands; and when the law was enacted kept them, and refuſed to return the money. When this was known, the general indignation that was raiſed by ſuch baſe and flagrant knavery fell upon *Solon*, though he was entirely innocent. But this calumny was ſoon confuted, by *Solon*'s being the firſt who complied with the law, and remitting the debts due to him, which at the loweſt computation amounted to five talents *.

However, this ordinance at firſt pleaſed neither of the two parties; it diſobliged the rich,

* A talent of ſilver among the *Greeks*, ſuppoſing ſilver at 5s. an ounce, amounted to 193*l.* 15*s.* ſterling.

becauſe it aboliſhed their debts, and the poor were diſatisfied, becauſe he did not ordain a new diviſion of the lands, as they expected, and as *Lycurgus* had actually done at *Sparta*. But *Solon*'s influence at *Athens* fell far ſhort of the credit and power which *Lycurgus* had acquired among the *Lacedæmonians*: for he had no other authority over the *Athenians*, than what he had acquired by his reputation for wiſdom, and the confidence of the people in his integrity.

However, in a little time, this ordinance was generally approved, and the people not only deſiſted from their complaints, but made him ſuperintendant of the laws, and of the commonwealth; gave him power over all their magiſtrates, aſſemblies, courts, and ſenates; authorizing him to appoint what eſtate each man ſhould have to qualify him for the offices of government; what ſhould be their number, and the time of their meeting; and impowering him to continue or repeal what laws he pleaſed.

He now made uſe of this authority to aboliſh the laws of *Draco*, except thoſe concerning murder. The reaſon of this was, their exceſſive ſeverity; for almoſt all offences were puniſhed with death; ſo that they who were convicted of ſloth or idleneſs, or they who had only ſtolen a few herbs or a little fruit, were as ſeverely puniſhed as thoſe who had committed murder or ſacrilege. This occaſioned the celebrated remark of *Diomedes*, that *Draco's laws were not written with ink, but with blood.* And he himſelf being aſked, *Why he made death the puniſhment*

ment *of almoſt all offences?* replied, *Small ones deſerve that, and I have no higher for the greateſt crimes.*

He next proceeded to the regulation of offices, employments, and magiſtracies, all which he continued in the hands of the rich; and therefore diſtributed the wealthy citizens into three claſſes, ranging them according to the difference of their incomes or revenues. Thoſe who were found to have five hundred meaſures *per annum*, as well in corn as in liquids, were placed in the firſt rank; thoſe that had three hundred, were placed in the ſecond, and thoſe who had only two hundred, made up the third.

The reſt of the citizens, whoſe income fell ſhort of two hundred meaſures, compoſed the fourth and laſt claſs, and were never admitted into any employments. But, in order to make them amends for this excluſion from offices, he left them the right of giving their votes; which at firſt ſeemed to be a matter of ſmall conſequence, but in time was a very conſiderable privilege; for moſt of the law-ſuits and differences returned to the aſſembly of the people, to whom lay an appeal from all the deciſions of the magiſtrates; and in their aſſemblies the greateſt and moſt important affairs of peace and war were alſo determined.

For the greater ſecurity of the common people, he gave any man the liberty to enter an action in behalf of the injured; ſo that if any one was beaten, maimed, or ſuffered violence from another, any man who pleaſed might pro-

ſecute the offender: wiſely intending by this to accuſtom the citizens, like members of the ſame body, to reſent one another's injuries. Thus being aſked, What city was beſt modelled? "That, ſaid he, where thoſe who are not injured are no leſs ready to proſecute and puniſh the offenders than thoſe who are."

He conſtituted the court of the *Areopagus**, which was compoſed of thoſe who had borne the office of Archon, and he himſelf having been an Archon, was conſequently a member. This being the ſupreme court of judicature, it had a general inſpection and ſuperintendency over all affairs, and the care of cauſing the laws to be obſerved and put in execution. Hence

* The *Areopagus* took its name from that of the hill on which this court was held. The place of aſſembly was incloſed, but uncovered; and there the judges met to determine criminal cauſes, and had all important affairs of a religious and civil nature brought before them. This court had been erected long before the time of *Solon*; but as he added greatly to its authority, he was ever after conſidered as its founder. Nothing was eſteemed more auguſt than that Senate, and nothing equalled the glory of the Senators. Their reputation for wiſdom and integrity became ſo great, that the *Romans* ſometimes referred cauſes too intricate for their own deciſion, to the determination of this tribunal. Nothing was here regarded or attended to but truth; and that no external object might divert the attention of the judges, their tribunal was always held at night, and in the dark; and the orators were not allowed to make uſe of any exordium, digreſſion, or peroration.

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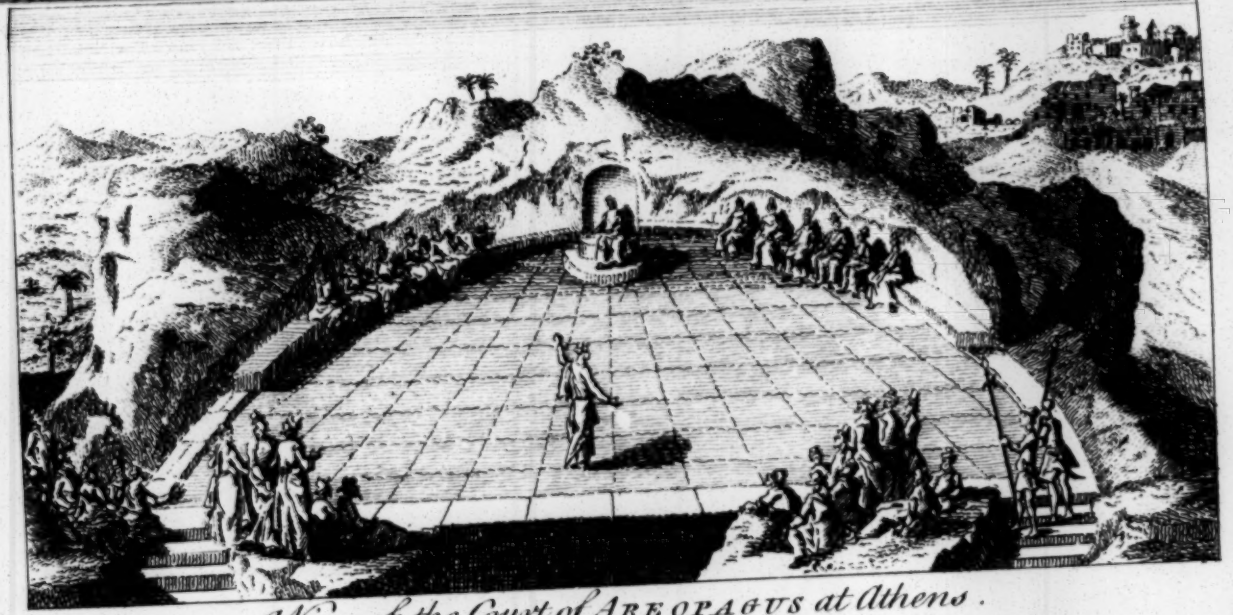

A View of the Court of AREOPAGUS *at Athens.*

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moſt authors ſay, that *Solon* inſtituted the *Areopagus*.

Obſerving that the people, now free from their debts, grew proud and imperious; he ſettled a court compoſed of a hundred perſons choſen out of each of the four tribes*, who were to inſpect all matters before they were to be brought before the general aſſembly of the people.

One of his moſt extraordinary laws, was that which rendered all infamous who ſtood neuter in a ſedition†. *Solon* thought that no man ought to be inſenſible with regard to his country, nor value himſelf on providing for his own ſecurity, by refuſing to ſhare the diſtreſſes of the public; but in the defence of a juſt cauſe, he thought that a good citizen ſhould bravely run all hazards, rather than remain an inactive ſpectator.

That law ſeems ridiculous and abſurd which allows an orphan heireſs, if her huſband prove impotent, to have recourſe to one of his neareſt kinſmen. Yet this law is ſaid to have been well contrived againſt perſons, who, conſcious of their own inability, for the ſake of the portion, marry heireſſes; they were therefore either obliged to abſtain from ſuch marriages, or to ſuffer diſgrace for the injury which their covetouſneſs had prompted them to commit.

* Afterwards the number of tribes was increaſed by *Cliſthenes* to ten, and then this Senate conſiſted of 500, fifty being choſen out of each tribe.

† They were alſo condemned to perpetual baniſhment, and their effects confiſcated.

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In all other marriages, no dowries were to be given; the wife was to bring with her only three ſuits of cloaths, ſome houſhold goods of ſmall value, and nothing more: for he would not have marriage an affair of gain and traffic; but a ſocial ſtate, in which the man and wife are united for procreation, and for love and mutual endearment.

Solon wiſely forbad men to ſpeak evil of the dead; for it is juſt to ſpare the deceaſed, and politic to prevent the perpetuity of diſcord. They were likewiſe forbid to uſe ill language to any body in the temples, in the courts of judicature, in the aſſembly of the people, or at the public games: the offender was to pay three drachmas to the injured perſon, and two to the public: for being on no occaſion able to reſtrain paſſion, is a proof of weakneſs and ill breeding, and always to moderate it, is very hard, and to ſome impoſſible.

His law relating to wills was alſo much commended, for before that time no perſon was allowed to make a will; but all the wealth and fortune of the deceaſed was to continue among the relations. But *Solon*, eſteeming friendſhip a ſtronger tie than kindred, permitted thoſe who had no children to leave their eſtates to whom they pleaſed. This law did not, however, authorize all donations: it juſtified and approved of none, but thoſe that were made freely and without compulſion, or having the mind intoxicated with drink, or perverted and ſeduced by the allurements and careſſes of a woman: for this wiſe legiſlator was juſtly perſuaded,

ſuaded, that no difference ought to be made between being ſeduced, and being forced; looking upon artifice and violence, pleaſure and pain, in the ſame light, when they are uſed as means to impoſe upon men's reaſon, and to captivate the liberty of their underſtandings.

He likewiſe made a law for the conduct of women in their journeys, mournings, and ſacrifices; to prevent the exceſs, diſorder, and licentiouſneſs that had before prevailed.

Solon, obſerving that the city was filled with perſons, who, for the ſecurity of living, flocked from all parts to *Attica*, and that moſt of the country was poor and barren, perſuaded the citizens to apply themſelves to mechanic arts, and manufactures; and by an expreſs law declared, that no ſon ſhould be obliged to relieve his father, if he had not cauſed him to be inſtructed in ſome trade. *Lycurgus*, 'tis true, having a city free from ſtrangers, and, according to *Euripides*, land ſufficient for twice the number of inhabitants, with a great number of *Helots* or ſlaves about *Sparta*, who were not to be kept idle, did well to take off his ſoldiers from mechanic trades, and to render them ſkilful only in the art of war. But *Solon* fitting his laws to the ſtate of *Attica*, brought trade into credit, and ordered the *Areopagites* to enquire how every man got his living, and to puniſh the idle.

Solon likewiſe declared, that the ſon of a harlot was under no obligation to ſupport his father in his neceſſity, or in his old age: for 'tis evident, that whoever ſhews no reſpect for marriage, had never in view the lawful end he

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ought to have propoſed to himſelf in havin children; but only the gratification of a loo paſſion. Having then gained his own deſire and attained the end he propoſed, he has n proper right over the perſons he begot, upo whoſe lives, as well as births he has entailed i delible infamy and reproach.

On the other hand he permitted any one t kill an adulterer who was caught in the fact if a man forced a free woman, he was fined hundred drachmas; and if he ſeduced her b his perſuaſions, twenty: but common proſti tutes were not included in this law. He ren dered it unlawful to ſell a daugher or a ſiſte unleſs, being yet unmarried, ſhe had forfeite her chaſtity.

By another regulation he leſſened the reward of the victors at the Olympic and Iſthmia games, and fixed them at a certain value, th is, 500 drachmas for the firſt, and 100 for th ſecond.

As *Attica* had a dry parched ſoil, without ri vers* or lakes, where for the moſt part the had no other water but what they drew out o wells, a law was made, that when there was a public well within the diſtance of four furlongs,

* The *Iliſſus* and *Eridanus*, the two rivers of *Attica*, were frequently dry; and *Callimachus* ſays, he ſhould not forbear laughing if any Poet was fool enough to ſay, That "the daughters of "the *Athenians* drew clear water out of the river "*Eridanus*, when the beaſts themſelves could not "quench their thirſt in it."

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all ſhould draw at that; but when it was farther diſtant, they might provide a private well; and if they had dug ten fathoms deep in their own ground, and could find no water, they might fetch a veſſel of ſix gallons twice a day from their neighbour's well. He that would dig a pit or a ditch, was to dig it as far diſtant from his neighbour's ground as it was deep; and he that would raiſe a ſtock of bees, was do it at three hundred feet diſtance from his neighbour's hives. *Solon* permitted only oil * to be exported; and thoſe who exported any of the other products of the earth were to be ſolemnly curſed by the Archon, who if he omitted it was to pay 100 drachmas. He allowed only thoſe ſtrangers to be made free of *Athens*, who were in perpetual exile from their own country, or came with their whole family to exerciſe ſome trade there; for theſe he thought would prove more faithful citizens than other ſtrangers, the former from neceſſity, and the latter from choice. He made likewiſe a law relating to eating at the puplic expence, which he called *Paraſitein* †, for the ſame perſon was not allowed

* There was great plenty of oil in *Attica*, and but little fruit; theſe laſt were neceſſary for the nouriſhment of the people, and in ſome meaſure ſupplied the want of corn.

† In the early ages the name of *Paraſite* was venerable, it ſignifying a commoner at the table of ſacrifices. Several perſons in *Greece* were particularly honoured with this title: theſe nearly reſembled thoſe called by the *Romans Epulones*.

to

to come often, and he puniſhed thoſe who refuſed to come when invited; for he thought that the former ſhewed a covetous diſpoſition, and the other a contempt of the public *.

Solon eſtabliſhed his laws for a hundred years. The Senate all ſwore to confirm them, and each of the *Theſmothetæ* † made a vow at the ſtone in the market-place, that if he broke any of the laws, he would dedicate a golden ſtatue to *Apollo* at *Delphos*, that ſhould weigh as much as himſelf ‡.

* *Cicero* obſerves, that *Solon*, whoſe laws were in force even in his time, had provided no law againſt parricide; and being aſked the reaſon, he anſwered, "That to make laws againſt, and ordain puniſhments for a crime that had never been known or heard of, was the way to introduce, rather than to prevent it."

† Theſe were ſix in number, and received the name of *Theſmothetæ*, from their office, which was to explain the ſenſe, and reconcile the ſeeming contradictions of the law: to enquire into ſuch as had been neglected, and reſtore them to their primitive vigour. They were likewiſe judges of criminals, and had the power of life and death.

‡ It ſeems highly probable, that there was not gold enough in all *Greece* to make ſuch a ſtatue; for in *Solon*'s time it was ſo ſcarce, that when the *Spartans* were commanded by the oracle to gild the face of *Apollo*'s ſtatue, they enquired in vain for gold all over *Greece*, and were directed by the oracle to buy ſome of *Cræſus* King of *Lydia*. This vow muſt therefore be conſidered as tacitly containing the penalty; for whoever was unable to perform it was to be baniſhed, and to have his goods confiſcated.

After

After *Solon* had enacted theſe laws*, many perſons continually came to him to commend, diſpraiſe, or propoſe ſuch alterations in them, as ſuited each man's fancy; and many deſired him to explain the meaning and deſign of particular paſſages: when being ſenſible that a refuſal would diſoblige them, and that if he complied with their importunity it might give offence, to extricate himſelf from theſe difficulties, and to leave no room for cavils and exceptions, he purchaſed a ſhip, and having obtained leave for ten years abſence, departed, hoping by that time his laws would become familiar.

His firſt voyage was to *Egypt*, where he ſpent ſome time in ſtudy, with the moſt learned of the Prieſts. From thence he ſailed to *Cyprus* †, where he was entertained with great friendſhip by King *Philocyprus*, who had a ſmall city built on a barren ſpot near the river *Clarius*. *Solon* perſuaded him to remove the city to a fine plain below, and to make it both larger and more beautiful; and while he ſtaid there took care of its building and peopling; after which the King, in honour of *Solon*, called the city *Soli*.

* *Diogenes Laertius* mentions ſeveral others, which, tho' omitted by *Plutarch*, ſeem worthy of notice, as, Let him that puts out the eye of a man who has but one, loſe both his. Let him who refuſeth to nouriſh his father and mother be infamous. A debauchee ſhall not be allowed to ſpeak in the aſſemblies of the people. Let not the tuition of a minor be committed to the next heir, *&c.*

† The reader may ſee a particular deſcription of that iſland in *the World Diſplayed*, Vol. XII. p. 49.

Solon's interview with *Cræſus* is by ſom thought a fiction, as not being agreeable t chronology; but I cannot reject a relation ſ conformable to *Solon*'s wiſdom and greatneſs o mind, from its happening to diſagree with ſom chronological canons, which thouſands have i vain endeavoured to regulate. 'Tis ſaid, tha when, at the requeſt of *Cræſus*, he went t *Sardis*, he was in the condition of a native o an inland country, when he firſt goes to ſee th ocean: for as he fancies every river he come to, to be the ſea, ſo *Solon*, on his paſſing thro the rooms of the palace, and ſeeing the noble richly dreſſed, and ſtrutting among a crowd o attendants, thought every one he met had bee *Cræſus*. At laſt, being brought to his preſence he found him dreſſed in purple and adorn ed with embroidery and jewels. *Cræſus* ob ſerving that he ſhewed no ſigns of aſtoniſh ment, and did not pay him the compliments h expected, he ordered that his treaſury ſhould b opened to him, and that he ſhould be led abou in order to ſee his rich furniture. When h returned from taking this ſurvey of every thin accounted rich, magnificent, and ſplendid, *Cræ ſus* aſked him, If ever he had ſeen a happier ma than he? *Solon* anwſered, He knew one *Tellu* a fellow citizen of his, who was an honeſt ma had good children, with a competent eſtat and at length died bravely fighting for h country. *Cræſus* was mortified at ſeeing a ma who did not meaſure happineſs by the abun dance of gold and ſilver, and who eſteemed mean and private ſtation more happy than hi

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SOLON appears before CRÆSUS.

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However, he aſked, if he knew any other perſon more happy? "Yes, replied *Solon*; *Cleobis* and *Bito*, two loving brothers who were very dutiful to their mother; for the oxen being too long in coming, each faſtened himſelf to their carriage, and drew her to the temple of *Juno*. The mother was extremely pleaſed, and was called happy by her neighbours. When they had ſacrificed and feaſted, they laid themſelves down to reſt, and never roſe more, but died without pain immediately after their acquiring ſuch reputation for their filial piety." *Cræſus* was diſpleaſed, and aſked, if he did not reckon him among the number of happy men? *Solon*, unwilling either to flatter or offend him, returned, O King of *Lydia*, as God has given us *Greeks* a moderate proportion of other things, ſo he has afforded us that wiſdom which contemplating the viciſſitudes of human life, forbids our being elated with a preſent enjoyment, or greatly to admire that happineſs, which is liable to change. Him only we eſteem happy whoſe felicity the Gods continue to the end; but he who has all the hazards of life to encounter, can with no more reaſon be accounted happy, than the wreſtler can be proclaimed and crowned victor, before he has finiſhed the combat." After this, *Solon* was diſmiſſed, having offended, but not inſtructed *Cræſus*. *Æſop*, the author of the fables, was then at *Sardis* upon *Cræſus*'s invitation, and was much eſteemed: but he was grieved at the coldneſs of *Solon*'s reception,

and adviſed him to let his viſits to Kings be a
few, or as agreeable to them as poſſible. *Sol*
replied, No, rather let them be as few, or a
uſeful to them as poſſible. *Cræſus* then inde
deſpiſed *Solon*; but when he was conquered b
Cyrus, taken alive, condemned to be burn
and laid upon the pile in the ſight of the Kin
and the officers of the *Perſian* army; he cri
out, with a loud voice, O *Solon*, *Solon*, *Solo*
Cyrus, ſurprized, ſent to enquire what man
God this *Solon* was, whom alone he invoked i
this extreme diſtreſs. *Cræſus* told the whol
ſtory; which being repeated to *Cyrus*, he wa
touched with compaſſion, and reflecting on th
uncertain ſtate of all ſublunary enjoyments
ſo ſtrongly evinced in the preſent example
cauſed him to be taken from the pile, and af
terwards treated him as long as he lived wit
honour and reſpect. Thus had *Solon* the glory
with a ſingle word, to ſave the life of one o
theſe Kings, and to give an uſeful leſſon of in
ſtruction to the other.

Solon had ſcarcely left *Athens*, when the ci
tizens began to quarrel, and ſeparated into thre
different factions: yet the laws of *Solon* wer
obſerved, though all wiſhed for a change. Thi
haſtened that great law-giver's return, who n
ſooner appeared, than he was honoured and re
vered by all; and by privately diſcourſing wit
the heads of each party, he endeavoured t
compoſe and reconcile their differences. *Piſ*
ſtratus eſpecially, who was at the head of on
of the factions, ſeemed to pay great regard
to his advice. He had ſomething very en
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gaging in his diſcourſe; he was always ready to aſſiſt the poor; and having the art of aſſuming thoſe qualities he did not poſſeſs, gained more credit than thoſe who really had them, and was admired for his juſtice, moderation, and diſintereſted regard for the liberties of the people. *Solon*, however, ſoon penetrated into the bottom of his deſigns, but without coming to an open rupture with him, often told him, that no one was better formed by nature to be a virtuous man, and a good citizen, could he but be cured of his aſpiring thoughts, and his deſire of abſolute power.

Soon after *Piſiſtratus*, having wounded himſelf in many parts of his body, was carried in a chariot with his wounds bleeding into the market-place, where he inflamed the minds of the people, by pretending that he was thus treated by his enemies for his affection to the government. The people exclaimed aloud againſt ſo flagrant an outrage, and flocked to the great aſſembly, where a motion was made, that *Piſiſtratus* ſhould have a guard of fifty men armed with clubs, for his ſecurity. This motion was warmly oppoſed by *Solon*; but without effect: for the people were ſo eager to paſs the law, that they ſuffered him to have his guard compoſed of what number he pleaſed; by which means he eaſily ſeized the citadel. The city was now in an uproar, and the enemies of *Piſiſtratus* fled. But *Solon*, though he was very old, and had none to ſecond him, went into the market-place, where he made an animated ſpeech to the citizens, blaming

their ſtupidity and meanneſs of ſpirit, and warmly exhorting them not to loſe their liberty ſo tamely. At length, finding that none of the citizens dared to ſide with him, he returned home, and obſerving that to the utmoſt of his power, he had defended the laws and liberty of his country, laid his arms in the ſtreet before his door, and from thence-forward never more concerned himſelf with public affairs. His friends adviſed him to ſeek his ſafety by flight, but this he refuſed; and even wrote a poem, in which he reproached the *Athenians* for ſo meanly ſubmitting to *Piſiſtratus*; and when he was told, that for this the tyrant would certainly put him to death, and was aſked in what he truſted for his ſafety, he calmly replied, To my old age. However, *Piſiſtratus* ſhewed ſuch reſpect and kindneſs to *Solon*, that he not only induced him to give him his advice, but made him approve of many of his actions. For he not only enforced the obſervance of moſt of *Solon*'s laws, but obſerved them himſelf: and notwithſtanding he was poſſeſſed of abſolute power, yet on his being accuſed of murder before the *Areopagus*, he modeſtly went to clear himſelf: but his accuſer dropped the proſecution. *Heraclides Ponticus* aſſerts, that *Solon* lived a long time after *Piſiſtratus* ſeized the government; but *Phanias*, the *Ereſian* ſays, he did not ſurvive that event above two years. The ſtory of his body being burnt and his aſhes ſcattered round the iſland of *Salamin*, appears very abſurd, and yet is related by very conſiderable authors, and particularly by *Ariſtotle*.

THE

THE LIFE OF PUBLIUS VALERIUS POPLICOLA.

PUBLIUS *VALERIUS* was descended from *Valerius*, the principle author of the union between the *Romans* and *Sabines*, and was eminent both for his eloquence, which he employed with great freedom and integrity in the defence of juſtice; and for his riches and liberality. *Tarquin* having rendered himſelf hateful and inſupportable, the unhappy fate of *Lucretia*, who killed herſelf on her being raviſhed by that tyrant's ſon, gave *Valerius* an opportunity of contributing to produce a change in the government. To him *Lucius Brutus* firſt came, and finding him ready to engage in that important affair, with his aſſiſtance expelled the King and his party. *Valerius* was then in hopes of being elected Conſul with *Brutus*; but was diſappointed; for in his ſtead *Collatinus*, the huſband of *Lucretia*, was, contrary to *Brutus*'s

tus's deſire, choſen his colleague, though he was not at all ſuperior in virtue to *Valerius*; but he was imagined to have a keener hatred to the family by which he had been ſo baſely injured.

Valerius being offended that he ſhould be thought leſs zealous for the ſervice of his country, only becauſe he had ſuffered no private injury, abſented himſelf from the Senate, withdrew from the bar, and quitted all public buſineſs. The people were concerned, and afraid, that from private reſentment, he would ſide with the King: but ſome time after, *Brutus* adminiſtering an oath to the Senate, *Valerius*, with great chearfulneſs entered the Forum, and was the firſt man who ſwore never to ſubmit to *Tarquin*; but to maintain the liberty of *Rome*, by force of arms. This gave a high ſatisfaction to the Conſuls, and the whole Senate; and his conduct ſoon afforded ſufficient proofs of his ſincerity.

Ambaſſadors from *Tarquin* ſoon came with flattering letters and ſoothing ſpeeches, intimating, that the King, having been convinced of his errors, deſired nothing but what was juſt and reaſonable; but *Valerius* oppoſed and prevented their having a public audience.

Other Ambaſſadors afterwards arrived, who declared, that *Tarquin* would reſign his crown, and lay down his arms, only ſtipulating that he and his followers ſhould have their money and eſtates to ſupport them in baniſhment. Several inclining to favour the motion, and *Collatinus* in particular pleading for it, *Brutus*, who was

was naturally paſſionate, ruſhed into the Forum, and proclaimed his fellow Conſul a traitor, in being ready to grant a ſupply to enable *Tarquin* to proſecute the war. The citizens being aſſembled, *Caius Minutius*, a private man, adviſed employing the tyrant's goods againſt him, rather than to give him an opportunity of employing them againſt themſelves. However, the *Romans* in general were of opinion, that ſince they had obtained the liberty they had ſought for, they ſhould not, for the ſake of his goods, reject articles of peace.

The recovery of the treaſures and other effects was, however, the leaſt part of *Tarquin*'s deſign: but this furniſhed the Ambaſſadors with a pretence for delaying their return, in order to gain time to form a conſpiracy in his favour. They corrupted two of the moſt eminent families in *Rome*, that of the *Aquilians*, which had three Senators in it, and that of the *Vitellians*, which had two, all of whom were nephews to *Collatinus* the Conſul. The *Vitellians* were likewiſe allied to *Brutus*; for he had married their ſiſter, by whom he had ſeveral children, two of whom were juſt of age, and were ſeduced by the *Vitellians* to become partners in their treaſon, by repreſenting, that by this means they might riſe to the higheſt honours, and at the ſame time be freed from the ſtupidity and cruelty of their father: for to his inflexible ſeverity towards criminals they gave the name of cruelty; and he himſelf had aſſumed the appearance of ſtupidity and folly, as the only means of ſecuring himſelf againſt the tyrant; and he did not refuſe

fuſe to take from thence the ſurname of *Brutus*. All the conſpirators agreed to bind themſelves by a dreadful oath, with the ceremony of killing a man, taſting his blood, and touching his entrails. For this purpoſe they met at the houſe of the *Aquilians*, where they choſe a dark and unfrequented apartment, as moſt ſuitable to the performance of this horrid ceremony. Happily a ſlave named *Vindicius* being accidentally there, and ſeeing with what haſte and confuſion they entered, through fear, hid himſelf behind a cheſt, where he obſerved all their actions, and overheard their debates. It was reſolved to kill the Conſuls, and letters were wrote to *Tarquin*, to inform him of their intentions. Theſe were delivered to the Ambaſſadors, who, as the gueſts of the *Aquilians*, were preſent at this meeting of the conſpirators.

When all was over, and the conſpirators departed, *Vindicius* came out privately; but was in the utmoſt perplexity how to act: however, recollecting the humanity and goodneſs of *Valerius*, to whom the poor had eaſy acceſs, and who never rejected the petitions of the meaneſt, he haſtily applied to him. *Valerius* gave him an opportunity of making a full diſcovery to him, in company with his wife and brother *Marcus*. He was ſtruck with amazement at the relation. Not thinking fit to diſmiſs *Vindicius*, he confined him in a chamber, and ſending his brother to beſet the King's palace, where he was, if poſſible, to ſeize his letters, and ſecure his domeſtics, he went himſelf

ſelf with his friends and a great retinue of his ſervants to the houſe of the *Aquilians*, who being abſent, he eaſily forced his entrance through the gates, and found the letters in the Ambaſſadors apartment. In the mean while the *Aquilians* returned in haſte, and coming to the gate, endeavoured to recover the letters; but *Valerius* and his party after much ſtruggling ſeized and haſtily dragged them, though with great difficulty to the Forum. The like engagement alſo happened about the palace, where *Marcus* ſeized ſome other letters, deſigned to be conveyed away with the goods, and laying hold on all the ſervants he could find, dragged them alſo to the Forum.

The Conſuls having quieted the tumult, *Valerius* ordered *Vindicius* to be brought, and the accuſation being made, the letters were read. The traitors had nothing to offer in their defence. The people ſtood in ſilent expectation, only ſome thinking to pleaſe *Brutus*, mentioned baniſhment; mean while the tears of *Collatinus*, and the ſilence of *Valerius* gave ſome hopes of mercy. But *Brutus* ſuddenly cried to his ſons, Come *Titus*, and you *Valerius*, why do you not anſwer to this accuſation? This queſtion was thrice propoſed, when *Brutus* receiving no anſwer, he turned to the Lictors, and ſaid, What remains, is your duty. The Lictors inſtantly ſeized the youths, and ſtripping off their garments, bound their hands behind them, and then ſcourged them. The ſpectators could ſcarcely bear to look on ſo tragical a ſcene; yet it is ſaid, that *Brutus* himſelf never once turned away

away his eyes; nor ſuffered the leaſt glance of pity to ſooth his wonted rigour; but reſolutely beheld the youths, even till the Lictors, extending them on the ground, cut off their heads with an ax: then he departed, committing the puniſhment of the reſt to his colleague. This was an action of ſo extraordinary a nature, that either it cannot be ſufficiently commended or ſufficiently blamed; for the greatneſs of his virtue raiſed his mind above the impreſſions of ſorrow, or he was rendered inſenſible by his exceſſive deſpair: but in neither caſe could his diſpoſition of mind be ſuch as is common to human nature, but muſt be deemed either divine or brutal.

On *Brutus*'s leaving the Forum, conſternation, horror, and ſilence for ſome time poſſeſſed the whole aſſembly; but the eaſineſs of *Collatinus* encouraged the *Aquilians* to deſire, that time might be allowed them to anſwer the charge, and that *Vindicius*, their ſervant, ſhould be delivered into their hands. The Conſul ſeemed willing to yield to their requeſt, and was therefore juſt going to diſſolve the aſſembly; but *Valerius* would neither deliver up *Vindicius*, who ſtood in the midſt of the croud, nor ſuffer the people to withdraw; but laying violent hands on the *Aquilians*, and calling *Brutus* to his aſſiſtance, exclaimed againſt the unreaſonable proceedings of *Collatinus*, who had impoſed upon his colleague the neceſſity of taking away the lives of his own ſons, and yet was deſirous of giving all the conſpirators an opportunity to eſcape. This was highly reſented

ſented by *Collatinus*, who commanding *Vindicius* to be apprehended, the Lictors diſperſed the crowd and ſeized him: but *Valerius* and his friends reſcued him, and the people calling out for *Brutus*, he immediately returned, and after ſilence being made, ſaid, that as to his ſons, he himſelf was ſufficient to paſs judgement upon them; but that he left the others to the citizens, and, therefore, every man was at liberty to ſpeak his opinion, and to gain over the people by perſuaſion. But there was no room for oratory; wherefore it being referred to the vote, they were condemned by all the ſuffrages, and accordingly beheaded.

Collatinus now perceiving that he had offended every one, reſigned his charge, and left the city. The people then raiſed *Valerius* to the conſulſhip, out of gratitude for the zeal he had ſhewn for the public, and he inſtantly rewarded *Vindicius* by giving him the freedom of the city, and the privilege of voting in whatever tribe he pleaſed to be enrolled. The people were then allowed to plunder the goods belonging to the King and his family, and the palace was levelled with the ground.

Tarquin having now no hopes of regaining the kingdom by conſpiracies, applied to the *Tuſcans*, who gave him a kind reception, and placed him at the head of a numerous army. The Conſuls marched againſt him, and coming to an engagement, *Aruns* the ſon of *Tarquin*, and *Brutus* the *Roman* Conſul, equally animated by rage and hatred, ſet ſpurs to their horſes, and fought with ſuch fury, that neglecting their

own ſafety, they were both ſlain. The batt continued as furious and bloody as at the fi onſet, and the two armies being ſeparated b a ſtorm, the ſlaughter appeared equal on bo ſides. *Valerius* found the *Romans* as much di mayed at the ſight of their own dead, as ani mated by the loſs of the enemy; for both a mies upon the view of their own loſs, wer more inclined to think themſelves defeated, tha by uncertain conjectures at the loſs of the ene my, to think they had gained the victor But when night came on, and the two armie were retired to reſt, a loud voice was heard proclaiming that the *Tuſcans* had loſt one ma more than the *Romans**. This intelligence wa received with tranſports of joy by the *Roman* who filled the air with their ſhouts; while th *Tuſcans*, through fear and amazement, deſerte their tents, and were moſt of them diſperſed When the *Romans* falling upon the remainder who amounted to near 5000, took them pri ſoners and plundered the camp. They the numbered the dead, when there were foun 11,300 on the *Tuſcan* ſide, and the ſame num ber, all but one man, on the ſide of th *Romans*†.

* This was pretended to be the voice of th God *Pan*; but it was doubtleſs an artifice mad uſe of by *Valerius*, who probably thought it th only means of reviving the drooping ſpirits o his ſoldiers.

† This computation was probably formed b *Valerius*, to confirm aud give a ſanction to hi former artifice.

On this occaſion *Valerius* entered *Rome* in triumph. He was the firſt Conſul who made his entry in a chariot drawn by four horſes: but though his triumph was very magnificent, it was far from exciting envy. The people likewiſe applauded the honours he paid to his deceaſed colleague at his funeral, when he pronounced an oration in his praiſe, which ſo pleaſed the *Romans*, that from thence forward it became cuſtomary for the moſt conſiderable perſons to celebrate the funerals of great and good men with ſpeeches made to their honour.

Valerius, however, ſoon offended the people, by neglecting to chuſe a colleague, and by the grandeur of his houſe. "To what purpoſe, "ſaid they, does he in words extol *Brutus*, "when in his actions, he imitates *Tarquin*, "coming out ſingle with all the rods and axes "to attend him, from a houſe more ſtately "than the King's palace, which he demo-"liſhed." But *Valerius* hearing from his friends that he was thus cenſured by the people, got together a great number of workmen at night, and had his houſe pulled down to the ground; ſo that the next morning, when the people flocked to ſee the ruins, they could not forbear admiring his generoſity, and regretting the deſtruction of ſo large and beautiful a ſtructure.

Valerius, to render the government more grateful and eaſy to the people, parted the axes from the rods, which upon his entrance into the aſſembly, he in a reſpectful manner veiled

to the people; by which means he ſo gained their affections, that they ſubmitted to him with pleaſure, and gave him the name of *Poplicola*, which ſignifies one who courts the people; in this his former names were loſt: this we ſhall therefore uſe in relating the ſequel of his life.

Fearing leſt he ſhould meet with oppoſition from the emulation or ignorance of his colleague, he, while he had the ſole power, employed it in executing ſeveral excellent and uſeful deſigns. He firſt ſupplied the vacancies of the Senate, many of the Senators having been put to death by *Tarquin*, and many ſlain in the late battle. Afterwards he made ſeveral laws which added much to the power of the people; particularly one, granting offenders the liberty of appealing to the people from the judgment of the Conſuls; and a ſecond, making it death for any one to accept the magiſtracy without the people's conſent; and a third, for the relief of the poor citizens, by taking off the taxes. He likewiſe determined that neither himſelf nor any of his friends ſhould be employed in the diſpoſal of the public money, nor would he permit it ever to fall into any private hands; he therefore allotted the temple of *Saturn* for the treaſury, and granted the people the liberty of chuſing two young men as Queſtors, or Treaſurers.

Having made theſe, and ſome other regulations, he admitted *Lucretius*, the father of *Lucretia*, as his colleague, and modeſtly reſigned the Faſces or Rods, as due to his years; and

and this reſpect to age was ever after continued. But a few days after *Lucretius* died, and *Marcus Horatius* ſucceeded him for the remaining part of the year.

Tarquin the Proud had almoſt finiſhed a temple which he had built to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, which being afterwards compleated and furniſhed with all its ornaments, *Poplicola* was very ambitious of dedicating it: but *Horatius* obtained this honour, while *Poplicola* was at the head of the army in the field.

Upon this occaſion the people flocked to the capitol, and ſilence being enjoined, *Horatius*, after the performance of other ceremonies, holding the door, according to cuſtom, pronounced the words of dedication: when *Marcus*, *Poplicola*'s brother, who ſtood near him, obſerving his opportunity, cried, "O Conſul, thy "ſon lies dead in the camp." This made a great impreſſion upon the auditory; but *Horatius*, with amazing ſteadineſs, only replied, "Then caſt the dead out whither you pleaſe; "for I ſhall not admit of ſorrow," and went on with the dedication. This was not indeed true, but *Marcus* thought this falſhood might divert him from proceeding in the ceremony.

Tarquin, after the above battle, ſo fatal both to his ſon and *Brutus*, fled to *Cluſium* * to implore aid from *Lucius Porſenna*, a perſon of great worth and honour, and the moſt powerful Prince of *Italy*. He aſſured *Tarquin* of his aſſiſtance, and immediately ſent Ambaſſadors to

* Now called *Chiuſi*.

the

the *Romans*, to require them to receive him a
their King. Upon their refuſal, he declare
war, and approached with a great army. *P*
plicola during his abſence was choſen Conſul
ſecond time, and *Titus Lucretius* as his colleagu
The latter returning to *Rome*, and deſiring
be thought more brave than *Porſenna*, built t
city *Sigluria* * while *Porſenna* lay encamped in
neighbourhood, and having walled it, placed
it a colony of 700 men: but *Porſenna* makin
a vigorous aſſault, obliged the defendants
retire to *Rome*, and would have entered t
city with them, had not *Poplicola* ſallied out
the gate, and joining battle by the ſide of t
Tyber, oppoſed the enemy; but at length fai
ing under his wounds, he was carried out of
field. *Lucretius* ſuffered the ſame fate, ſo th
the *Romans* being filled with terror, retreated
the city for their ſecurity, and *Rome* was in da
ger of being taken, the enemy making go
their purſuit to the wooden bridge, where
ratius Cocles, ſeconded by two of the moſt em
nent men in *Rome*, kept the bridge, and repu
ſed the enemy, till his own party broke it dow
and then leaping into the river in his armo
ſwam to the other ſide, though wounded in
hip by a *Tuſcan* ſpear. *Poplicola* admiring
courage, obliged the *Romans* to make him
preſent of as much as each of them ſpent

* *Sigluria* was built and fortified under his
cond Conſulſhip, and conſequently before *Rome*
menaced by *Porſenna*; nor was it built to
that he ſurpaſſed *Porſenna* in courage, but
fortreſs againſt the *Latins* and *Hernici*, who
began to grow formidable.

SMITHS
TO THE
MUSEUM

Mucius burning his hand.

day *; afterwards they gave him as much land as he himſelf could encircle with a plough in a day; and as an honourary reward for the lameneſs he contracted by his wound, erected a ſtatue to his memory in the temple of *Vulcan*.

During the ſiege a peſtilence raged among the *Romans*, and a new *Tuſcan* army made incurſions into the country. On which account *Poplicola*, now choſen Conſul for the third time, thought it ſafeſt to keep on the defenſive; but by an unexpected ſally he routed and killed 5000 of the enemy.

The ſtory of *Mucius* is variouſly related; but I ſhall follow that account which appears moſt probable. He was endowed with every virtue; but was moſt eminent for his military talents. Reſolving to kill *Porſenna*, he dreſſed himſelf in the *Tuſcan* habit, and uſing that language, went to the camp, entered the royal pavillion, and approached the ſeat where *Porſenna* ſat among his nobles; but not knowing him, and yet being afraid to enquire, he drew his ſword, and ſtabbed him who appeared moſt like a King. He was inſtantly ſeized and examined, and a pan of fire ſtanding near the King, who intended to offer ſacrifice, *Mucius* thruſt his right hand into the flame, and while it burnt, ſtood with a fierce and undaunted countenance with his eyes fixed on *Porſenna*; who, ſtruck with amazement, returned him his ſword and diſmiſſed him. *Mucius* received it in his left hand,

* This preſent muſt have amounted to a very conſiderable ſum, for on this occaſion even the women were not exempted, ſo that he could not have leſs than 300,000 contributers.

whence

whence he received the name of *Scævola*, or *Left-handed*. He then cried, "I have conquered the terrors of *Porſenna*; but am vanquiſhed by his generoſity, and gratitude obliges me to diſcover what no puniſhment could extort:" adding, that 300 *Romans*, waited about the camp to kill him, that he was deſtined by lot to make the firſt attempt; but was not ſorry he had failed, ſince ſo worthy a man deſerved rather to be a friend than an enemy to *Rome*. *Porſenna* now expreſſed an inclination to a truce; not ſo much, I imagine, from his dread of aſſaſſination, as from being filled with admiration at the *Roman* courage. *Poplicola* was induced to refer the diſpute betwixt him and *Tarquin* to *Porſenna*'s arbitration, and ſeveral times ſummoned that tyrant to appear; undertaking to prove, that he had been juſtly deprived of his kingdom. *Tarquin*, however, refuſed to refer the juſtice of his cauſe to *Porſenna*; upon which the latter concluded a peace with the *Romans*, on condition that they ſhould reſign the lands they had taken from the *Tuſcans*, and reſtore all priſoners. To confirm this peace, the *Romans* gave as hoſtages ten of the ſons of the Patricians, and as many of their daughters, among whom was *Valeria*, the daughter of *Poplicola*.

Some time after, theſe female hoſtages going to the river to bathe, and ſeeing no guard, reſolved, notwithſtanding the depth and rapidity of the ſtream, to ſwim to the other ſide. Others ſay, that one of them named *Clælia*, paſſing over on horſe-back, perſuaded the reſt to follow: this they did, and reached the oppoſite

poſite ſhore in ſafety; but on their coming to *Poplicola*, he was concerned leſt he ſhould appear leſs faithful than *Porſenna*, and this boldneſs in the virgins, ſhould be conſidered as a proof of the treachery of the *Romans:* he therefore ſent them back; but *Tarquin*'s men being informed of this tranſaction, and laying an ambuſcade for them on the other ſide of the river, a ſkirmiſh enſued, during which, *Valeria*, the daughter of *Poplicola*, ruſhed through the enemy, and, by the aſſiſtance of three of her retinue, made her eſcape. Mean while the reſt were in great danger, being ſurrounded by the ſoldiers; but *Aruns*, *Porſenna*'s ſon, haſtened to their relief, and ſoon put the enemy to flight.

Porſenna ſeeing the virgins returned, aſked who was the author and promoter of the deſign, and being told it was *Clœlia*; he with a mild and chearful look commanded one of his horſes to be brought, richly adorned, and then preſented it to her. This is produced as an evidence, that *Clœlia* paſſed the river on horſe-back; but others deny this conſequence; however, an equeſtrian ſtatue was erected to her in the *Via Sacra*.

Porſenna being thus reconciled to the *Romans*, gave them a freſh inſtance of his generoſity, by ordering his ſoldiers, when they decamped, to take nothing with them but their arms, leaving their tents, which were well furniſhed with proviſions and things of value, to the *Romans*; who, in honour of this great man, erected his ſtatue in braſs cloſe to the ſenate-houſe.

The *Sabines* afterwards making incurſions upon the *Romans*, *Marcus Valerius*, brother to

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Poplicola, was made Conſul, and with him *Poſthumius Tubertus*; but the chief management of affairs was ſtill under the direction of *Poplicola*. *Marcus* obtained two great victories, in the latter of which he ſlew 13,000 *Sabines*, and was rewarded both with a triumph, and a houſe built on the *Palatinum* at the public expence.

Poplicola was the next year made Conſul a fourth time, when the city being filled with ſuperſtitious fears, he conſulted the books of the *Sybils*, ſacrificed to *Pluto*, and renewed certain obſcure games, and having by theſe ceremonies inſpired the people with confidence in the Gods, he prepared to arm himſelf againſt the menaces of men; for nothing was then talked of but formidable leagues, and warlike preparations carried on againſt the *Romans*; and in particular the *Sabines* and *Latins* had entered into a confederacy, which threatened a war; but it was prevented by *Appius Claudius*, a *Sabine*, who had a great eſtate, and was equally remarkable for his ſtrength of body, his eloquence and his virtue. This action made his enemies inſinuate, that he ſuffered the *Romans* to encreaſe in power, only to have the better opportunity of enſlaving his country. *Poplicola*, who was informed of every thing that paſſed, privately ſent meſſengers to *Appius* to inform him, that he was well acquainted with his goodneſs and juſtice, and if he pleaſed to leave his enemies and come to *Rome*, he ſhould be received with that honour his virtue deſerved, and the *Roman* grandeur required. *Appius* upon mature deliberation not only reſolved to accept the offer,

fer, but perſuaded his friends to accompany him, and they inviting others to join them, 5000 of the moſt peaceable of the *Sabines* ſet out with their families to come to *Rome*. *Poplicola* being informed of their approach, received them with all the kind offices of friendſhip; gave them the freedom of the city, and allotted to each two acres of land by the river *Anio*; but to *Appius Claudius* he not only gave twenty-five acres, but admitted him into the Senate. This laid the foundation of his future greatneſs, and the *Claudii* at length became inferior to no family in *Rome*.

The chief of the *Sabines* would not, however, ſuffer the *Romans* to remain long in peace: for advancing with a great army, they encamped near *Fidenæ*, and placed an ambuſcade of 2000 men in the hollow places about *Rome*, intending, that at day-break ſome horſemen ſhould make incurſions up to the very gates of the city, to provoke the *Romans* to ſally out, and then by retreating, draw them into the ambuſcade. But *Poplicola* being informed of their deſign by ſome deſerters, that evening ſent *Poſthumius Balbus*, his ſon-in-law, at the head of 3000 foot, with orders to poſt them on the hills under which the *Sabines* lay in ambuſh; *Lucretius*, his colleague, at the head of the lighteſt and boldeſt of the troops, was to repulſe the foragers, while he himſelf with the remainder took a large compaſs, and encloſed the enemy in the rear. The morning happened to be very thick and foggy; and as ſoon as it was light, *Poſthumius* with loud ſhouts from the tops of the hills fell upon

upon thoſe who lay in ambuſh; while *Lucretius* charged the light horſe, and *Poplicola* attacked the enemy's camp. Thus every thing tended to throw the *Sabines* into a general diſorder. Thoſe in the camp fled towards thoſe who lay in ambuſh, and theſe endeavoured to regain the camp, and thus they all fell into the hands of thoſe from whom they endeavoured to fly; and would have been entirely cut off, had it not been for the vicinity of the city of *Fidenæ*, which proved an aſylum to a few of them. The glory of this victory was ſolely aſcribed to the wiſe diſpoſition made by *Poplicola*. The people were enriched by the ſpoils of the *Sabines*, and the ſale of the captives. But *Poplicola* having obtained a ſecond triumph, and committed the city into the hands of thoſe who were to ſucceed him in the government, died full of honours, after a life ſpent, as much as is in the power of man, in the attainment of every thing great and deſirable. The people, as if they had done nothing for him when living, but were ſtill indebted to him for the many ſignal ſervices he had rendered them, decreed that he ſhould be interred at the public expence, every one contributing a quadrans * towards it. Beſides the women by common conſent reſolved, as a teſtimony of their gratitude and ſincere veneration for his memory, to mourn for him a whole year; and as a farther honour, the people ordained that his aſhes ſhould be interred in the city, and that it ſhould for ever remain a burying-place for his poſterity.

* A braſs coin which then weighed three ounces.

THE LIFE OF THEMISTOCLES.

THEMISTOCLES derived no great luſtre from his family; for his father, whoſe name was *Neocles*, was not diſtinguiſhed by his rank; and on his mother's ſide he was eſteemed illegitimate*. From his youth he was of an impetuous temper, of a quick apprehenſion, and had a ſtrong underſtanding. He early diſcovered a genius for action, and for conducting public affairs. The times of recreation and receſs from his ſtudies, which other youths ſpent in play or idleneſs, he employed in compoſing ſome declamation, the ſubject of which

* She was born at *Caria*, and it was a law at *Athens*, that every citizen who had a foreigner to his mother ſhould be deemed a baſtard, and be incapable of inheriting his father's eſtate.

was generally an accuſation or defence of his companions; whence his maſter would often ſay: "Thou, boy, canſt never be any thing "mean or indifferent; but muſt ſome time "or other prove either a great benefit, or a "great miſchief to thy country." Such inſtructions as were given him for the regulation of his behaviour, and his improvement in the polite arts, he received but ſlowly, and with an air of negligence; but whatever was ſaid on the management of public affairs, he heard with an attention uncommon to one of his years, as if he felt that theſe were the things by which he ſhould afterwards be highly diſtinguiſhed. Thus long after, meeting with ſome reflections in a company of perſons of good breeding and genteel education, he replied with ſome haughtineſs, "I never learned to tune a "lute, or play upon the harp; but I know "how to render an obſcure and inconſiderable "city great and flouriſhing."

The firſt ſallies of his youth were wild and irregular; for guided by his own natural impetuoſity, uncontroled by reaſon and education, he was continually changing his meaſures and courſe of life; and ſome ſay, that to deter him from engaging in public affairs, and to let him ſee how the people behave to thoſe who have done them ſignal ſervices, his father ſhewed him the old galleys as they lay neglected and ſcattered on the ſhore. However *Themiſtocles* engaged very early in public buſineſs; but by his ambition to raiſe himſelf to the higheſt poſts in the government, he in-

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curred the hatred of the moſt powerful men in the city: he was more particularly oppoſed by *Ariſtides*, a man of a mild diſpoſition, and of conſummate probity and virtue; who, governing without the view of obtaining popular favour or applauſe, and conſidering only what was moſt agreeable to juſtice, and conducive to the public ſafety, was frequently forced to oppoſe him. 'Tis even ſaid, that *Themiſtocles* was ſo tranſported by the deſire of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by great actions, that on the victory obtained by the *Athenian* General *Miltiades* over the *Perſians* at the battle of *Marathon*, the praiſes given to the conduct of that Commander rendered him thoughtful, and made him paſs whole nights without ſleep. However, when others imagined that the victory of *Marathon* would put an end to the war, *Themiſtocles* thought it only the beginning of far greater conflicts, for which he continually prepared by exerciſing the inhabitants. The *Athenians* being accuſtomed to diſtribute among themſelves the revenue ariſing from a ſilver mine, he was the only one who durſt make the propoſal that this diſtribution ſhould ceaſe, and the ſilver be applied to the building of ſhips, in order to make war on the *Æginetes*, the moſt flouriſhing people in *Greece*; who, by the number of their ſhips, held the ſovereignty of the ſea. To this *Themiſtocles* eaſily perſuaded them, not by alarming them with apprehenſions of danger from the *Perſians*, whoſe coming was very uncertain, but by ſeaſonably acting upon the emulation, anger, and hatred

of the *Athenians* againſt the *Æginetes*. With this money a hundred ſhips were buiſt, and from this beginning he perſuaded the *Athenians* to increaſe their naval ſtrength; making it evident to them, that thoſe who were not a match for their neighbours by land, might be able with their ſhips not only to oppoſe the *Perſians*, but to become the rulers of *Greece*. However, when he had won the favour of the people, he raiſed up a party againſt *Ariſtides*, and cauſed him to be baniſhed.

At length the *Perſians* having fitted out a great fleet, the *Athenians* conſulted who they ſhould chuſe for their General. Many being terrified with the greatneſs of the danger, declined the honour; but *Epicydes*, an orator, and a man of great eloquence, though of a cowardly and avaricious diſpoſition, being deſirous of the command, would probably have been elected, had not *Themiſtocles*, fearing that if the government ſhould fall into his hands all would be loſt, prevailed on him, by a ſum of money, to deſiſt from his pretenſions.

The King of *Perſia* ſending meſſengers into *Greece*, with an interpreter, to demand water and earth, *Themiſtocles*, by the conſent of the people, ſeized on the interpreter, and put him to death, for preſuming to deliver in the *Greek* tongue the meſſage of a barbarian; and *Arthimus* bringing gold from the *Perſians* to corrupt the *Grecians* was, by the perſuaſion of *Themiſtocles*, degraded and rendered infamous, together with his children and poſterity. For theſe actions he was highly honoured by the *Greeks*; bu

but what was of much greater advantage, and really glorious to him, he put an end to the civil wars of *Greece*, compoſed the differences of the various ſtates, and prevailed on them to lay aſide all enmity during the war with the *Perſians:* in this he is ſaid to have been much aſſiſted by *Chileus* the *Arcadian*.

Themiſtocles having taken upon himſelf the command of the *Athenian* forces, immediately endeavoured to prevail on the citizens to embark on board their gallies, and to meet the *Perſian* fleet at a great diſtance from *Greece*; but this being oppoſed, and the troops being joined by the *Lacedæmonians*, he marched into *Tempe*, in order to defend the *Theſſalians* *, who had not yet declared for the *Perſians*. From this expedition he returned without performing any thing; but it being ſoon after known, that not only the *Theſſalians*, but all the country as far as *Bœotia* had ſubmitted to *Xerxes*, the *Athenians* liſtened to his advice, and ſent him with a fleet to guard the ſtreights of *Artemiſium* †.

When the *Grecian* fleets were joined, the *Greeks* were deſirous of giving the ſupreme command to *Eurybiades* the *Lacedæmonian*; but the *Athenians*, who furniſhed more veſſels than all the reſt together, refuſed to conſent to it, till *Themiſtocles*, perceiving the dangerous con-

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ſequences that might attend this conteſt, re-
ſigned the command; and at the ſame time
perſuaded the *Athenians* to ſubmit, by obſerving,
that if they behaved well, the *Greeks* would for
the future, of their own accord, give them the
chief command. Thus to the moderation of
Themiſtocles, *Greece* ſeems chiefly to have owed
its preſervation, and the *Athenians* the repu-
tation of ſurpaſſing their enemies in valour, and
their allies in civility.

The *Perſian* fleet no ſooner arrived at *Aphetæ*
than *Eurybiades*, aſtoniſhed at the number of
the veſſels that appeared in ſight, and at being
told that 200 more were ſailing round the
iſland of *Sciathus*, reſolved to ſail back to that
part of *Peloponneſus*, where he might be aſſiſted
by the land army. But the *Eubœans* ſent a
perſon privately to diſcourſe with *Themiſtocles*,
and with him a large ſum of money, which he
accepted, and according to *Herodotus*, gave to
Eurybiades. But *Architeles*, an *Athenian*, who
was Commander of the ſacred galley, and want-
ed money to pay his crew, oppoſed *Themiſto-
cles*, and was for returning without delay; but
the latter ſo incenſed his countrymen against
him, that they boarded his ſhip, and took from
him what he had provided for his ſupper.
Architeles was provoked at this inſult, but *The-
miſtocles* ſent him in a cheſt a quantity of pro-
viſions, and at the bottom of it a talent of ſil-
ver, deſiring him to ſup quietly that night, and
to provide for his ſeamen and ſoldiers in the
morning.

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Though the ſeveral engagements between the *Greeks* and *Perſians* in the ſtreights of *Eubea**, were far from being deciſive, yet they were of great advantage to the *Greeks*, who found by experience, that neither the number of ſhips, nor the richneſs of their ornaments, nor the boaſting ſhouts or ſongs of victory uſed by the barbarians, were terrible to the brave, who were reſolved to fight with their enemies hand to hand.

As ſoon as the news came from *Thermopylæ* to *Artimiſium*, that *Leonidas* was ſlain †, and that *Xerxes* had ſeized all the paſſes by land, the fleet returned back into *Greece*, the *Athenians* ſailing in the rear, greatly elated on account of their ſucceſs, and the proofs they had given of their valour.

While *Themiſtocles* ſteered along the coaſt, he obſerved the harbours and places fit for the enemies ſhips to retire to, and engraved ſeveral inſcriptions on large ſtones, requiring the *Ionians* to forſake the *Medes*, and come over to the *Greeks*, their ancient founders and progeni-

* The engagement was renewed three days ſucceſſively, in each of which the *Perſians* had the advantage.

† The brave *Leonidas*, King of *Sparta*, defended the paſs of *Thermopylæ* with three hundred men, till they were all cut off, except one man, who eſcaped to *Sparta*, where he was treated as a coward, and nobody would keep company or converſe with him: but he ſoon after made a glorious amends at the battle of *Platea*, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in an extraordinary manner.

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tors, who were now hazarding all for their liberties; or at leaſt to throw the *Perſians* into diſorder whenever they fought with the *Greeks*. Theſe inſcriptions he hoped would either prevail with the *Ionians* to revolt, or render their fidelity ſuſpected by the *Perſians*.

Though *Xerxes* had burnt and deſtroyed the cities of the *Phocians*, the *Greeks* ſent them no relief; and though the *Athenians* earneſtly deſired them to oppoſe the *Perſians* in *Bœotia*, before they reached *Attica*, yet, they gave no ear to their requeſt; they were ſolely intent on preſerving *Peloponneſus*, and reſolved to aſſemble all their forces within the iſthmus, and to build a wall over it from ſea to ſea. The *Athenians* were both enraged at ſeeing themſelves thus betrayed, and diſcouraged at ſo general a defection. They were unable to make head againſt the *Perſians* by land, and no other expedient was left them, but to abandon *Athens*, and betake themſelves to their ſhips. The people were, however, very unwilling to hearken to this propoſal; for they could not bear the thoughts of forſaking their houſes, the temples of their Gods, and the monuments of their anceſtors. *Themiſtocles*, finding all arguments in vain, had recourſe to prodigies and oracles. The dragon * of *Minerva* diſappeared, and the Prieſts,

† The citadel was under the protection of a ſerpent nouriſhed in the temple of *Minerva*. Thus a living ſerpent is ſtill fed, and highly honoured at *Raigny*, on the bank of the *Nile* a particular account

Prieſts, by the direction of *Themiſtocles*, declared that the Goddeſs had left the city, and taken her flight before them towards the ſea. Often did he repeat to them the oracle which bid them truſt to walls of wood, ſhewing that theſe could be nothing elſe but ſhips; and that *Apollo* had not termed the iſland of *Salamin* unfortunate, but divine; intimating, that it ſhould be one day fortunate to the *Greeks*. His opinion at length prevailed, and he propoſed a decree, that the city ſhould be recommended to the protection of *Minerva*, the tutelary Goddeſs of the *Athenians*; that all who were able to bear arms ſhould embark; after having provided as well as they could for the ſafety of their wives, children, and ſlaves. This decree being paſſed, moſt of the *Athenians* removed their families to *Træzen* *, where they met with an hoſpitable reception, the *Træzenians* publiſhing an order, that they ſhould be maintained at the public charge, by diſtributing to every perſon daily two oboli †; that their children ſhould have leave to gather fruit where they pleaſed, and

account of which may be ſeen in the *World Diſplayed*, Vol. XII. p. 125. And a whole ſpecies of ſerpents is worſhipped in the kingdom of *Wydah*, on the coaſt of *Africa*. See the ſame work, Vol. XVII. p. 49.

* *Træzen* was a ſmall city ſituated on the ſea-ſhore, in that part of the *Peloponneſus*, called *Argolis*.

† Worth about three-half-pence *Engliſh*.

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their ſchool-maſter be paid for inſtructing them.

The embarkation of the people of *Athens* afforded a very affecting ſpectacle, which excited pity, while it filled the mind with admiration at the firmneſs of thoſe who ſending away their parents to a diſtant place, paſſed over to the iſland of *Salamin*, unmoved by their cries, tears and embraces. But what extremely augmented the general compaſſion, was the great number of men, who, on account of their age and infirmities, were obliged to be left in the city. The very domeſtic animals took part in this public mourning; nor was it poſſible for a man to ſee thoſe poor creatures run howling and crying after their maſters, who were going on board, without being affected.

Among the great actions of *Themiſtocles*, that of recalling *Ariſtides* was not the leaſt. Perceiving that the people regretted his abſence, and fearing that in revenge he would go over to the *Perſians*, he propoſed that thoſe who were baniſhed for a time, might return again.

Eurybiades, from the great authority of *Sparta*; was made chief Commander of the *Grecian* fleet, though he was not diſtinguiſhed by his courage. He was willing to ſteer towards the iſthmus of *Corinth*, where the *Peloponneſian* army lay encamped; but he was warmly oppoſed by *Themiſtocles:* on which *Eurybiades*, lifting up his ſtaff, in a menacing manner, *Strike*, cried the *Athenian*, unmoved at the inſult, *but hear me*. *Eurybiades*, admiring his moderation, deſired

fired him to proceed, and *Themiſtocles* brought him over to his opinion. While he was ſpeaking on the deck, it is ſaid that an owl, which was ſeen flying to the right hand of the fleet, came and ſat upon the top of the maſt; and that this omen had ſuch an effect on the *Greeks*, that they immediately followed his advice, and prepared for the fight. Yet the *Perſian* fleet no ſooner arrived at the haven of *Phalerus*, on the coaſt of *Attica*, than beholding the number of the ſhips which covered the coaſt, and the King himſelf marching at the ſame time with his land army to the ſea-ſide, the *Peloponneſians* were filled with terror and reſolved to return home that very night.

Themiſtocles, greatly concerned that the *Greeks*, by retiring, ſhould loſe the advantage of the narrow ſeas and ſtreights, privately ſent *Sicinus*, who had been tutor to his children, to *Xerxes*, with orders to tell that King, that the Commander of the *Athenians* having eſpouſed his intereſt, had ſent early to inform him, that the *Greeks* were ready to make their eſcape; but that he adviſed him to hinder their flight, and to fall upon them while they were in this confuſion, and at a diſtance from their land army; by which means he might deſtroy all their naval forces. *Xerxes*, highly pleaſed at this meſſage, immediately ordered the Commanders of his ſhips to ſend two hundred ſail to encompaſs the iſlands, and block up all the ſtreights, that none of the *Greeks* might eſcape. This motion of the enemy was firſt perceived by

by *Ariſtides*, who, notwithſtanding his former enmity to *Themiſtocles*, haſted to inform him, that they were encompaſſed by their enemies *. *Themiſtocles* being well acquainted with the generoſity of *Ariſtides*, and much pleaſed with his viſit at that time, informed him of his ſending *Sicinus*, and begged, that as he had great authority among the *Greeks*, he would now make uſe of it in perſuading them to ſtay and fight their enemies in thoſe narrow ſeas. *Ariſtides* applauded the ſtratagem, and going to the Commanders of the galleys, encouraged them to engage; but they did not perfectly believe what he ſaid, till a galley of *Tenos*, commanded by *Panætius*, revolting from the *Perſians*, joined the fleet, and confirmed the news, that all the ſtreights were blocked up;

* *Ariſtides* came in the night from *Ægina*, where he had ſome forces under his command, and with great danger paſſing through the *Perſian* fleet, came to *Themiſtocles*, and taking him aſide, ſpoke to him in the following manner: "If we are wiſe, *Themiſtocles*, we ſhall from hence-forward lay aſide the vain and childiſh diſſentions that have hitherto divided us, and with a more noble and wiſe emulation, ſtrive which of us ſhall beſt ſerve our country, you by commanding, and doing the duty of a wiſe and able Captain, and I by obeying your orders, and aſſiſting you with my perſon and advice." *Themiſtocles*, aſtoniſhed at the greatneſs of his ſoul, and aſhamed of being ſo much excelled by his rival, promiſed that for the future he would imitate, and if poſſible exceed him in generoſity.

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and then rage and fury, as well as neceſſity, provoked them all to engage in the fight.

As ſoon as it was day *Xerxes* placed himſelf on an eminence to be a ſpectator of the battle. The Poet *Æſchylus* writes in his tragedy of the *Perſians*, that to his own knowledge *Xerxes* had a thouſand ſhips, of which two hundred and ſeven were of extraordinary ſwiftneſs. The *Athenians* had an hundred and eighty: in every ſhip eighteen men fought upon the deck, four of whom were archers, and the reſt well armed.

As *Themiſtocles* had made choice of the moſt advantageous place, ſo he ſhewed no leſs judgment in chuſing the beſt time of fighting; for he delayed the engagement till the time of day when the ſea-winds made the water rough in the channels. This was no inconvenience to the *Grecian* ſhips which were low built and ſtrong; but was prejudicial to the *Perſian* veſſels, which had high ſterns, lofty decks, and were heavy and unwieldy. The *Grecians* fiercely aſſaulted them, ſtrictly obeying the orders of *Themiſtocles*. *Ariamanes*, Admiral to *Xerxes*, the braveſt and worthieſt of the King's brothers, advanced towards *Themiſtocles*, and having a great ſhip, diſcharged darts and arrows as from the walls of a caſtle. *Armenias* the *Decelian*, and *Soſicles* the *Pedian*, who ſailed in the ſame veſſel, bore in and attacked him, when both ſhips meeting, their ſharp ſtems armed with braſs pierced through each other, ſo that they were faſtened together; *Ariamanes* then attempting to board them, *Armenias* and *Soſicles* thruſt him into the

ſea with their pikes. His body, as it floated among others, was known by *Artemiſia* *, and carried to *Xerxes*. As the battle was fought in a narrow channel, the *Perſians* could only bring up part of the fleet, and many of their veſſels ran foul of each other. Thus the *Greeks*, equalling them in ſtrength, continued the fight till the evening, when they put them to flight, and obtained ſo compleat and ſignal a victory, that according to *Simonides*, neither the *Greeks* nor any other nation ever diſtinguiſhed themſelves in ſo glorious a manner by ſea.

Themiſtocles having formed a ſcheme for deſtroying a bridge of ſhips made by *Xerxes* acroſs the *Helleſpont*, in order to ſtop the retreat of that Prince, reſolved firſt to know the opinion of *Ariſtides*, and therefore communicated his deſign to him; but he diſapproving it, made this reply: "We have hitherto contended "with an enemy diſſolved in luxury; but if "we ſhut him up in *Greece*, and drive him to "deſpair, the Commander of ſuch numerous "forces will no longer ſit under a gilded canopy "to enjoy the fight, but will attempt every "thing; he will become reſolute, and will "himſelf appear in perſon upon all occaſions, "ſoon correcting his errors, inſtead of his "former remiſſneſs, he will be armed with pru-

* *Artemiſia*, Queen of *Halicarnaſſus*, brought fi armed ſhips to the aſſiſtance of *Xerxes*. *Herodot* highly commends her for her courage and prudenc This Princeſs ought not to be confounded wi *Artemiſia* the wife of *Mauſolus* King of *Caria*, w lived above ninety years after this engagement.

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" dence and caution. Therefore, rather than " deſtroy the bridge he has already made, we " ſhould, if poſſible, build another, to render " his retreat the more expeditious." *Themiſtocles* being convinced by theſe reaſons, found among the captives one of the King of *Perſia*'s eunuchs named *Arnaces*, whom he ſent to inform *Xerxes*, that the *Greeks* being now victorious by ſea, had reſolved to ſail to the *Helleſpont*, and deſtroy the bridge; but that *Themiſtocles* being concerned for the King's preſervation, revealed this to him, that he might haſten towards the *Aſiatic* ſeas, and paſs over into his own dominions; and in the mean while, he would cauſe delays, and hinder the confederates from purſuing him. *Xerxes* was no ſooner informed of this, than being filled with terror, he with the utmoſt ſpeed retreated out of *Greece*.

When the *Greeks* returned to the iſthmus, where the officers delivered their ſuffrages inſcribed on billets taken from the altar, to determine who was moſt worthy, every one gave the firſt vote for himſelf, and the ſecond for *Themiſtocles*. The *Lacedæmonians* took him with them to *Sparta*; where, giving the rewards of valour to *Eurybiades*, and of wiſdom and conduct to *Themiſtocles*, they crowned him with olive, preſented him with the richeſt chariot in the city, and ſent 300 young men to accompany him to the confines of their country.

Themiſtocles went to the next *Olympian* games, but he no ſooner entered the place where thoſe exerciſes were performed, than the ſpectators

took no farther notice of the combatants, but ſpent the whole day in looking at him, ſhewing him to the ſtrangers, and expreſſing their admiration and applauſe by clapping their hands, and ſhewing every poſſible mark of reſpect. *Themiſtocles*, who was naturally very fond of praiſe, was ſo delighted, that he confeſſed to his friends, he then reaped the fruit of all his labours for the *Greeks*.

He now began to rebuild and fortify the city of *Athens*, having, according to *Theopompus*, bribed the *Lacedæmonian Ephori*, that they might not oppoſe it; but moſt authors maintain, that he accompliſhed it by an artifice *; for being choſen by the *Athenians* to go on an embaſſy to *Sparta*, he went thither; where the *Lacedæmonians* accuſing him of fortifying *Athens*, and *Poliarchus* being ſent on purpoſe from *Ægina* to plead againſt him, he denied the fact, adviſing them to ſend to *Athens* to ſee whether it were ſo or not; by which delay time was gained for building the walls; and to ſecure himſelf,

* The *Lacedæmonians* apprehending, that if the *Athenians*, who were ſo powerful at ſea, were ſuffered to fortify the city, they might in time give laws to *Greece*, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Athens* to perſuade them againſt it, under the pretence, that if it ſhould be taken by the *Perſians*, they might make it a place of arms. *Themiſtocles*, however, penetrated into their true deſign, and knowing that they were able by the aſſiſtance of their allies, to prevent the *Athenians* carrying on the work, adviſed the Senate to diſſemble with them, and make uſe of the above artifice.

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he directed the *Athenians* to ſeize thoſe that were ſent, and to keep them as hoſtages for his ſafety. However, when the *Lacedæmonians* knew the truth, they did him no hurt, but for the preſent, hiding their anger, diſmiſſed him.

He afterwards fortified the *Piræus*, and joined the whole city to that harbour; which was directly contrary to the policy of the ancient Kings of *Athens*; who, endeavouring to draw their ſubjects from the ſea, and the care of maritime affairs, and to accuſtom them to live by agriculture, invented the fable of the contention between *Minerva* and *Neptune* for the patronage of the *Athenians*, when *Minerva*, by producing an olive-tree, was declared to be their tutelary Goddeſs. By this means *Themiſtocles* increaſed the power of the people in oppoſition to the nobility, the authority now coming into the hands of the mariners.

After the departure of *Xerxes*, when the *Grecian* fleet wintered at *Pagaſæ*, *Themiſtocles* told the people of *Athens* in a public oration, that he had a deſign that would be of the greateſt advantage to the *Athenians*; but that it was of ſuch a nature, as would not admit of being communicated to the people in general. Upon this he was ordered to diſcloſe it only to *Ariſtides*, and to put it in practice if it met with his approbation. But when *Themiſtocles* told him that his deſign was to burn the *Grecian* fleet in the harbour of *Pagaſæ*, *Ariſtides* went out to the people and told them, that nothing could be more advantageous than the ſcheme propoſed by *Themiſtocles*, but at the ſame

time nothing was more unjuſt*. Upon which the *Athenians* commanded him to deſiſt.

The *Lacedæmonians* having propoſed in the council of the *Amphictyons*, that the cities which had not taken arms againſt the *Perſians*, ſhould be excluded from that aſſembly; *Themiſtocles* apprehending, that if the *Thebans*, the *Theſſalians*, and the *Argives*, were excluded the council, the *Lacedæmonians* would by that means become wholly maſters of the votes, and act as they pleaſed, ſpoke in their behalf, and prevailed with the members then ſitting to alter their opinions: he repreſented, that as there were but thirty-one cities that joined in the war, and as moſt of them were very ſmall, it would be dangerous that this auguſt aſſembly ſhould, by the excluſion of the others, be ruled by two or three great cities. By this he chiefly incurred the diſpleaſure of the *Spartans*, who afterwards uſed their intereſt for the advancement of *Cimon*, that in all affairs of ſtate he might be a rival to *Themiſtocles*.

* Black and perfidious as this ſcheme appears it was not perhaps more unjuſt, than that formed by the *Spartans*, of reſolving to take advantage of the deſtruction of *Athens* by *Xerxes*, and the helpleſs ſituation of the inhabitants, to prevent by all poſſible means their fortifying of that city; and the reſentment felt by *Themiſtocles* on that occaſion, might perhaps dictate this propoſal ſo contrary to juſtice. However, to the honour of the *Athenians*, it was rejected, and we here ſee an entire people determine, that the conſideration of profit and advantage ought never to prevail in preference to equity and honour.

He likewiſe greatly offended the confederates, by raiſing contributions from the iſlands. *Herodotus* ſays, that requiring money from the inhabitants of the iſland of *Andros*, he told them, that he had brought with him two Goddeſſes, *Perſuaſion* and *Force*, to which they ſmartly anſwered, that they had alſo two Goddeſſes which prohibited their giving him any money, *Poverty* and *Impoſſibility*. *Timocreon* the *Rhodian* Poet cenſures him with great bitterneſs, for being prevailed on by money to ſuffer the baniſhed to return, and for betraying his friend and gueſt.

Not ſuch the cruel falſe Themiſtocles
Whoſe monſtrous crimes heav'n with abhorrence ſees.
No gen'rous thought within his boſom glows;
His perfidy too well Timocreon *knows,*
His friend and gueſt. He promiſed to reſtore
Him, hapleſs exile, to his native ſhore.
But gold allures him, and no oaths can bind;
He ſails and leaves that friend and gueſt behind.
For gold alone he kills, or ſaves from fate.
With wealth o'erflowing, and with pride elate,
He gives th' aſſembled Greeks *a private treat:*
They eat his bread, and curſe him while they eat.

When the citizens of *Athens* began to liſten to thoſe who traduced him, he was forced to put them in mind of the great ſervices he had performed, and to aſk thoſe who were offended with him, whether they were weary of receiving frequent benefits from the ſame perſon: but by this he rendered himſelf ſtill more odi-

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ous. He likewiſe highly incenſed the people, by building a temple to *Diana Ariſtobule*, or *Diana of the beſt Counſel*; intimating thereby, that he had given the beſt counſel both to the *Athenians*, and to all *Greece*. This temple he built near his own houſe, and within it there is to this day a ſtatue of *Themiſtocles*, by which it appears, that his mind was not more heroic than his perſon and aſpect. At length he was baniſhed by the *Athenians*, who making uſe of the Oſtraciſm to depreſs his great eminence and authority, as they uſually did to all thoſe whom they thought too powerful, and whoſe greatneſs became diſproportioned to an equal and popular government; for the oſtraciſm was not inſtituted ſo much to puniſh the offender as to gratify the envious, who delighted to humble thoſe who were remarkably eminent; and by fixing this unjuſt diſg ace upon them, they exhaled part of their hatred and reſentment.

Themiſtocles, on his being baniſhed from *Athens*, ſtaid at *Argos* during the trial of *Pauſanians*, which gave great advantage to his enemies. *Leobates* of *Agraula* accuſed *Pauſanias* of treaſon, and the *Spartans* joined with him in the accuſation. When *Pauſanias* firſt engaged in his treaſonable deſign, he concealed it from *Themiſtocles*, notwithſtanding his being his intimate friend: but on his ſeeing him expelled

* Oſtraciſm reſembled our manner of ballotting; each voter gave in a ſhell inſcribed with the perſon's name he intended to condemn.

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the commonwealth, and that he bore his baniſhment with great impatience, he ventured to communicate it to him, and deſired his aſſiſtance, ſhewing him the King of *Perſia*'s letters, and exaſperating him againſt the *Greeks* as a baſe and ungrateful people. *Themiſtocles*, however, rejected *Pauſanias*'s propoſals, and abſolutely refuſed to have any concern in the enterprize, though he neither revealed this correſpondence, nor diſcovered the conſpiracy; expecting, perhaps, that it would be diſcovered by other means, or hoping that *Pauſanias* would of his own accord deſiſt from his raſh deſign.

After *Pauſanias* was put to death, letters were found that rendered *Themiſtocles* ſuſpected; upon this the *Lacedæmonians* became clamorous againſt him, and he was accuſed by the envious *Athenians*. Being abſent from *Athens*, he made his defence againſt the chief accuſations by letters, and in anſwer to the malicious detractions of his enemies, urged the improbability that one who had always ſhewn that he was not formed by nature for ſlavery, ſhould deliver up himſelf and his country into the hands of enemies and barbarians. Yet the people being perſuaded by his accuſers, officers were ſent to take him, and to bring him away to be tried before the great council of the *Greeks*. Of this having timely notice, he went to the iſland of *Corcyra*, on which he had conferred ſome ſignal obligations, by determining a diſpute between the inhabitants and the *Corinthians*, in favour

favour of the former. From thence he fled into *Epirus*; but the *Athenians* and *Spartans* ſtill purſuing him, he had recourſe to a very dangerous expedient by flying to *Admetus*, King of the *Moloſſians*, who having formerly made a requeſt to the *Athenians*, when *Themiſtocles* was in the height of his power, had met with ſo rude a denial, that the King had openly declared that he only waited for an opportunity to be revenged. Yet *Themiſtocles* dreading leſs the reſentment of a Prince, that might abate by time, than the ingratitude and envy of his fellow-citizens and neighbours, became a humble ſupplicant to *Admetus:* holding the young Prince, who was a child, in his arms, he proſtrated himſelf before the King's houſhold Gods; this being the moſt ſacred and moſt effectual manner of ſupplication among the *Moloſſians*. Some ſay, that *Phthia*, the Queen, informed *Themiſtocles* of this way of petitioning, and placed her young ſon near him, before the figures of their domeſtic Deities. Others ſay, that King *Admetus* contrived this ſcene, that he might be under a religious obligation not to deliver him up to his perſecutors. At that time *Epicrates* of *Acarnania* privately conveyed the wife and children of *Themiſtocles* out of *Athens*, and ſent them to him; but for this act of humanity, *Cimon* condemned him, and put him to death. A great part of his wealth was alſo privately conveyed away by his friends, and ſent after him by ſea into *Aſia*; beſides which there were diſcovered and confiſcated according to *Theophraſ-*

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tus, to the value of eighty talents, but *Theopompus* ſays a hundred *.

He afterwards, as *Thucydides* obſerves, embarked at *Pydna* †, not being known to any one in the ſhip; till being terrified at ſeeing the veſſel driven by the winds near *Naxos*, which was then beſieged by the *Athenians*, he made himſelf known to the maſter and pilot, and prevailed on them to ſtand out to ſea, and to ſail towards the coaſt of *Aſia*.

On his arrival at *Cumæ* ‡, hearing that all along the coaſt there were many that laid wait for him, the King of *Perſia* having offered 200 talents by public proclamation, to him that ſhould take him, he fled to *Ægæ*, a ſmall city of the *Æolians*, where no one knew him except *Nicogenes*, with whom he lodged. This was the richeſt man in *Æolia*, and was well known in the court of *Perſia*. While *Themiſtocles* lay concealed in his houſe, he one day dreamed that a ſerpent coiled itſelf round his belly, and twining itſelf up to his neck, no ſooner touched his face, than it was turned into an eagle, which ſpread its wings over him,

* A hundred talents is about 22,500*l.* ſterling.

† *Pydna* was a city of *Macedonia*. It is ſurprizing to ſee with what zeal the *Athenians* and *Spartans* perſecuted a man to whom they owed every thing they enjoyed. They threatened *Admetus*, if he refuſed to deliver him up, to invade his dominions, on which that Prince favoured his eſcape, and he travelled by land to *Pydna*.

‡ *Cumæ* was a city of *Æolia* in *Aſia Minor*.

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took him up, and flew away with him to a diſtant place, where he ſaw a golden ſceptre, upon which he ſecurely reſted. *Nicogenes* hearing this, made uſe of the following method of conveying him from his houſe.

The barbarous nations, and particularly the *Perſians*, are naturally jealous of their women, ſo that not only their wives, but their female ſlaves and concubines, are conſtantly confined, and when they take a journey are put into a carriage ſhut cloſe on all ſides. In the like travelling carriage they conveyed *Themiſtocles*, and told thoſe they met or converſed with on the road, that they were carrying a young *Grecian* lady out of *Ionia*, to a nobleman at the *Perſian* court.

Themiſtocles on his arrival at the court of *Perſia*, applied himſelf to *Artabanus*, Commander of a thouſand men, telling him he was a *Grecian*, and deſired to ſpeak with the King, about ſome important affairs which his Majeſty had much at heart. *Artabanus* anſwered, "*Stranger*, the laws of men are different: you *Grecians* admire liberty and equality, but we account it moſt glorious to honour the King as the image of the great Deity, who preſerves and ſupports the univerſe. If therefore thou canſt comply with our laws, and fall down before the King and worſhip him, thou mayſt both ſee and ſpeak to him; if not, thou muſt make uſe of others to intercede for thee: it is not cuſtomary for him to give audience to any that will not fall down before him." *Themiſtocles* promiſing

to comply with this cuſtom, *Artabanus* replied, "Who muſt we tell him that thou art? for by "thy diſcourſe thou ſeemeſt to be no ordinary "perſon." *Themiſtocles* replied, "No man "muſt be informed of this before the King "himſelf."

When *Themiſtocles* was introduced to his Majeſty, and had proſtrated himſelf on his face, he ſtood ſilent, till *Artaxerxes* commanding the interpreter to aſk him who he was, he replied, "I am *Themiſtocles* the *Athenian*, baniſhed and "perſecuted by the *Greeks*. The miſchief I "have done the *Perſians* is leſs than the ſervice "I rendered them, in preſerving them from "the purſuit of the *Greeks*; for when I had "delivered *Greece*, and ſaved my own country, "I thought myſelf at liberty to ſhew my good "will to the *Perſians*. My ſentiments are "agreeable to my preſent fortune. I come "prepared to receive thy favours with grati-"tude, or to appeaſe thy reſentment by my "ſubmiſſion. My enemies themſelves are wit-"neſſes of the ſervices I have done for *Perſia*; "and my misfortunes rather afford thee an oc-"caſion of diſplaying thy virtue, than of grati-"fying thine anger. Thus thou wilt preſerve "an humble ſuppliant; otherwiſe thou wilt "deſtroy an enemy of the *Greeks*." He then, as if inſpired by ſome Deity, related in more elevated language, his dream, and the orders of the oracle of *Dodona*, where *Jupiter* commanded him to go to a perſon who had a name like his; by which he underſtood that he was

ſent to the King of *Perſia*, who like that God was juſtly ſtiled the *Great King*.

Artaxerxes heard him with attention, and though he admired his underſtanding and courage, gave him no anſwer; but when he had retired among his favourites, he congratulated himſelf on this fortunate event, and prayed to his God *Arimanius*, that all his enemies might, like the *Greeks*, baniſh the braveſt men amongſt them. He then ſacrificed to the Gods, made a feaſt, and was ſo tranſported with joy, that three times in the night he called out, "I "have *Themiſtocles* the *Athenian*."

The next morning *Artaxerxes* ordered *Themiſtocles* to be brought before him: but he expected no favourable treatment; for on his paſſing through the guards, they looked on him with threatening countenances, and loaded him with reproaches, and *Roxanes* who commanded a thouſand men, ſoftly whiſpered in his ear, "Thou ſubtle *Greek* ſerpent, the King's good "genius hath brought thee hither." But on his proſtrating himſelf before *Artaxerxes*, his Majeſty ſaluted him, and with an air of kindneſs ſaid, he was now indebted to him 200 talents*; for it was but juſt that he ſhould receive the reward propoſed to him who ſhould bring *Themiſtocles*; and then commanding him to ſpeak freely what he had to ſay on the affairs of *Greece*; *Themiſtocles* replied, that a man's diſcourſe was like a rich piece of tapeſtry, which when ſpread open diſplays the various figures

* About 45,000*l.* ſterling.

wrought

wrought upon it; but while it is folded up, theſe are hidden and loſt; and therefore he deſired time to perfect himſelf in the language in which he was to expreſs his thoughts. The King being pleaſed with this anſwer, allowed him, at his deſire, a year's time to learn the *Perſian* tongue.

Themiſtocles having at length accompliſhed this taſk, had the privilege of frequently talking with the King in private; and there happening at the ſame time great alterations at court among the King's favourites, the courtiers became jealous of his influence, imagining that he uſed it againſt them. No other ſtranger enjoyed ſuch extraordinary marks of favour; the King invited him to partake of his own diverſions both at home and abroad, and even allowed him to converſe familiarly with the Queen Mother. He was admitted to hear the lectures and diſcourſes of the Magi, and was inſtructed by them in all the ſecrets of their philoſophy.

About this time *Demaratus* the *Lacedæmonian* being ordered by the King to aſk whatever he pleaſed, deſired the royal diadem, and that being lifted up on high, he might be carried in ſtate through the city of *Sardis*, after the manner of the *Perſian* Kings *: on which *Mithro-*

 pauſtes,

* The *Perſian* Kings could confer no higher mark of diſtinction on thoſe they were diſpoſed to honour. The hiſtory of *Mordecai* was then freſh in every body's memory: for *Ahaſuerus*, the ſame with *Xerxes*, had ordained that *Mordecai* ſhould be dreſſed

pauſtes, couſin to *Artaxerxes*, taking him by the hand, told him that he had no brains for the royal diadem to cover; and that if *Jupiter* ſhould give him his thunder, that would not make him *Jupiter*. The King himſelf was exaſperated at his inſolence, and looked upon him with ſcorn and indignation. *Themiſtocles* was, however, in ſuch favour, that he pacified his reſentment, and prevailed on him to reſtore him to favour. Moſt writers ſay, that *Themiſtocles* had three cities given him, *Magneſia*, *Myus*, and *Lampſacus* *, to maintain him in bread, meat and wine, and ſome add the cities of *Percote* and *Palæſcepſis* to provide him with cloaths, and furniture for his bed.

Themiſtocles going towards the ſea ſhore, to provide againſt the attempts of the *Greeks*, *Epixyes*, a *Perſian*, who was Governor of upper *Phrygia* lay in wait to kill him, having provided for that purpoſe a crew of *Piſidian* aſſaſſins, who were to ſet upon him in the city of *Leontocephalus*, or *Lion's-head*. But as *Themiſtocles* was ſleeping at noon, the mother of the Gods appeared to him in a dream, and bid him avoid the lion's head, leſt he fell into his jaws; adding that for this advice his daughter *Mneſiptolema*

dreſſed in the royal apparel, that the imperial crown ſhould be ſet upon his head, and that he ſhould be conducted on horſe-back through the ſtreets of the city.

* The eaſtern monarchs inſtead of penſions, uſually aſſigned particular cities and provinces for the ſupport of their favourites.

ſhould

ſhould be her ſervant. *Themiſtocles* being much aſtoniſhed, paid his adorations to the Goddeſs, and taking a circuit, lodged beyond that city. But one of the ſumpter horſes, which carried the tent having fallen into a river, his ſervant ſpread out the tapeſtry, and hung it up to dry. In the mean while the *Piſidians* advanced towards them, and not perfectly diſcerning by the light of the moon, what it was that was thus ſtretched out, miſtook it for the tent of *Themiſtocles*, whom they expected to find repoſing within it; but on their lifting it up, were immediately attacked and taken priſoners. In memory of this deliverance, he built a temple in the city of *Magneſia*, which he dedicated to *Cybele Dyndimene*, and appointed *Mneſiptolema* his daughter to be the prieſteſs.

On his coming to *Sardis*, he viſited the temples of the Gods, where he obſerved in the temple of *Cybile*, the ſtatue of a virgin in braſs called the water-bearer. This ſtatue *Themiſtocles* had erected when he was ſurveyor of the aqueducts of *Athens*, out of the fines he had obliged thoſe to pay who had taken away the water, or had turned it out of its due courſe; and whether he was concerned at ſeeing that his image had been carried away, at the plunder of *Athens*, or was deſirous of ſhewing the *Athenians* in what credit he was with the King, he endeavoured to perſuade the Governor of *Lydia* to ſend it back to *Athens*; on which he threatened to complain of him by letter to the King: *Themiſtocles* being affrighted at this, found means to get acceſs to his wives and con-

cubines, whom he gained over with money, and by their means, pacified the Governor. This taught him to behave with more circumſpection: fearing the envy of the *Perſians*, he no longer travelled about *Aſia*; but lived in his own houſe in *Magneſia*, where he for a long time paſſed his days in ſecurity, courted by all, preſented with rich gifts, and honoured by the greateſt men in the *Perſian* empire.

At length *Artaxerxes* being informed that *Egypt*, aſſiſted by the *Athenians*, had revolted, and that the *Greeks* had made themſelves maſter of the ſea, he reſolved to put a ſtop to the growth of their power; he therefore raiſed forces, and ſent meſſengers to *Themiſtocles* at *Magneſia*, to put him in mind of his promiſe to aſſiſt him againſt the *Greeks*: but *Themiſtocles* either dreading the ſkill of *Cimon*, who had been remarkably fortunate in war; or rather being aſhamed to ſully the glory of his former great actions, by fighting againſt his country, reſolved to conclude his days in a manner ſuitable to the whole courſe of his life. Having ſacrificed to the Gods, he invited his friends, and having embraced them, drank bull's blood, but ſome ſay he drank a quick poiſon. He thus ended his days at ſixty-five years of age, leaving three ſons and many daughters. The King was far from being offended at the cauſe and manner of his death; he continued to ſhew kindneſs to his friends and relations, and a ſplendid ſepulchre was erected to him, which ſtill remains in the market places of *Magneſia*.

THE

THE

LIFE

OF

FURIUS CAMILLUS.

IT is remarkable that notwithſtanding the many great actions performed by *Furius Camillus*, and his being choſen five times Dictator, his having four triumphs, and his being ſtyled the ſecond founder of *Rome*, he was never once choſen Conſul. The reaſon of this was, that the people being at variance with the Senate, refuſed to elect Conſuls, and in their ſtead choſe military Tribunes, whoſe power, though equal to that of the Conſuls, was leſs diſagreeable to the people; who were better pleaſed with having the management of affairs entruſted to ſix perſons than to two.

The family of the *Furii* was at that time not very conſiderable; *Camillus* was the firſt who raiſed himſelf to honour; for ſerving under *Poſthumius*

Poſthumius Tubertus, the Dictator, in the great battle againſt the *Æqui* and *Volſci* †, he rode out before the reſt of the army, and received a wound in the thigh; but plucking out the dart, he engaged with the braveſt of the enemy, and put them to flight*. For this action, among other rewards, he was created Cenſor, an office in thoſe days of great honour and authority ‡. While he enjoyed it, the wars having made many widows, he obliged ſuch as had no wives, ſome by perſuaſion, and others by threatening to pay a fine, or take theſe women in marriage.

The *Romans* had at this time undertaken the ſiege of *Veii*, the inhabitants of which are by ſome called *Venetani*. This was the chief city of *Tuſcany*, and was not inferior to *Rome*, either in the quantity of the arms, or the number of the ſoldiers it could furniſh; and its inhabitants

* Both theſe nations inhabited a part of what is now called the *Champagna di Roma*.

† This battle was fought in the 324th year of *Rome*, or the 428th year before the birth of *Chriſt*. *Camillus* was then young; and though this action might afterwards contribute to his being made Cenſor, along time paſſed before he enjoyed that honour; for he was not raiſed to the cenſorſhip till twenty-nine years after.

‡ The Cenſors were the guardians of the diſcipline and manners of the *Romans*; they were a ſort of viſitors of the order of the knights, and of the ſenate; they had a power to conſtrain the batchelors to marry, and in ſhort, had the fortune of the whole city at their diſpoſal.

had

had long contended with the *Romans* for glory and empire; but they had now fortified the city with high and ſtrong walls, and furniſhed it with every thing neceſſary to ſupport a long ſiege. The *Romans* had never been accuſtomed to keep the field long, even in ſummer; but they were now compelled by the Tribunes, to build forts in the enemy's country; to raiſe ſtrong works about the camp, and continue conſtantly before the place, in winter as well as ſummer. The ſeventh year of this ſiege was drawing to an end, when the commanders being ſuſpected of remiſſneſs, others were choſen in their room, among whom was *Camillus*, who was then for the ſecond time made military Tribune. He had yet however no concern in the ſiege, his lot being to make war on the *Faliſci* and *Capenates*, who, while the *Romans* were engaged with their other enemies, had ravaged their country, and had haraſſed them during the whole *Tuſcan* war: but they were now reduced by *Camillus*, and after ſuffering great loſſes, were obliged to confine themſelves within their walls.

During the war, an accident of a very extraordinary nature cauſed a general conſternation. In the beginning of autumn, after a ſummer which had not been very rainy, and when many of the lakes and brooks were dried up, the *Alban* lake which had no viſible communication with any other water, it being entirely ſurrounded with mountains, roſe in an aſtoniſhing manner, and at length by the quantity and weight of the water forced a paſſage, and the torrent

torrent ruſhing through the plowed fields and plantations, endeavoured to find its way to the ſea*. This not only ſtruck terror into the *Romans*; but was thought by all the inhabitants of *Italy* to portend ſome extraordinary event. As it is uſual in long ſieges for the beſieged and the beſiegers ſometimes to converſe with each other, a *Roman* had contracted an acquaintance with one of the citizens, reputed to have an extraordinary ſkill in divination, and obſerving that he was overjoyed at the ſtory of the lake, and laughed at the ſiege, he held him in diſcourſe till he inſenſibly drew him a good way

* It is not ſurprizing that the *Romans*, ever ſuperſtitious, ſhould conſider ſuch an inundation as portending ſomething very extraordinary. The lake was ſurrounded with mountains, which uſually abound with caverns that are receptacles of the water that falls upon them in rain, and thence flowing in ſprings, become the ſource of rivers and lakes. We need here only conceive, that one of theſe large caverns or reſervoirs, above thoſe that uſually ſupplied the ſprings of the lake, broke into the lower reſervoirs, or into their canals, or in any other manner found a paſſage into the lake; by which means it would naturally ſwell and overflow its banks. The reader may ſee far more ſurprizing circumſtances in relation to the ſprings, rivers and lakes of *Swiſſerland* in Mr. *Addiſon's Travels*: ſee *The World Diſplayed*, Vol XIX. p. 141, and 144. And other circumſtances of a very aſtoniſhing nature, in relation to the ebbing and flowing of the lake of *Cirknitz*, in Mr. *Keyſler's Travels*, inſerted in the ſame volume, from pag. 192, to 195.

from

from the gates of the city, and then ſnatching him up in his arms, carried him away, and by the aſſiſtance of others that came running from the camp, brought him to the Commanders. The man being thus in the power of his enemies, diſcovered that the oracles had declared that the city ſhould not be taken till the *Alban* lake was reduced into its proper bounds. This was laid before the Senate, who having deliberated on this ſubject, ſent ſeveral perſons of the greateſt quality, to conſult the oracle of *Delphi*. The anſwer they received was, that they ſhould offer ſome religious rites which had been neglected, and if poſſible, confine the lake within its ancient bounds, but if that was not to be done, they ſhould draw it off by canals, and leave it dry. Upon this the Prieſts performed what related to the ſacrifices, and the people turned the courſe of the water.

In the tenth year of the war, the Senate created *Camillus* Dictator, who having choſen *Cornelius Scipio* General of the horſe; made vows to the Gods, that if they would grant a happy concluſion of the war, he would celebrate to their honour the great ſports, and rebuild the temple of the Goddeſs *Matuta*, the ſame with *Leucothoe*. *Camillus* having made theſe vows, marched into the country of the *Faliſci*, and in a bloody battle overthrew them and the *Capenates* their confederates. He afterwards went to the ſiege of *Veii*, and finding that the taking it by aſſault would be attended with great difficulty and danger, he dug a paſſage under ground, allowing as much depth as would be ſufficient

for

for carrying on the works, without being diſcovered by the enemy. This paſſage being compleated, he ordered a general aſſault, in order to draw the beſiegers to the walls, while a body of the ſoldiers, without being perceived, got under the temple of *Juno*, which was built within the walls of the caſtle, and was the largeſt and moſt celebrated religious ſtructure in all the city. 'Tis ſaid, that the Prince of the *Tuſcans*, being at that time offering ſacrifice, the Prieſt, after examining the entrails of the beaſt, cried with a loud voice, that the Gods would give the victory to them who ſhould finiſh the ſacrifice; when the *Romans* beneath hearing theſe words, immediately broke open the floor, and aſcending with noiſe, and the claſhing of their ſwords frighted away the enemy, and carried them to *Camillus*. The city being taken by ſtorm, the ſoldiers were buſy in pillaging, and carrying off immenſe plunder, when *Camillus* viewing them from the caſtle, wept with pity for the inhabitants; but thoſe who ſtood near him congratulating him on his ſucceſs, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and implored the Gods, that if the good fortune of the *Roman* people appeared too great in their ſight, and it was neceſſary to counterbalance it by ſome diſgrace, they would be pleaſed to make it fall upon him, and to ſpare the commonwealth. Then turning about to the right, according to the cuſtom of the *Romans* on ſuch occaſions, he accidentally fell down. Thoſe who were preſent were ſurprized and concerned; but recovering himſelf from the fall, he told them, that according to his prayer a ſmall miſ-

chance

chance had happened to him to qualify the greateſt good fortune.

Having ſacked the city, he reſolved, agreeably to his vow, to carry the image of *Juno* to *Rome*; and the workmen being ready for that purpoſe, he ſacrificed to the Goddeſs, and made his ſupplications, that ſhe would approve of their devotion to her, and graciouſly accept of a place among the Gods who preſided at *Rome*: 'tis ſaid, that the ſtatue anſwered in a low voice, that ſhe was ready and willing to go. *Livy* ſays, that in praying, *Camillus* touched the Goddeſs, and that ſome of the by-ſtanders cried out, *She is willing*.

Camillus, elated either by the glory of having taken a city that was competitor with *Rome*, and had held out a ten years ſiege, or by the flattery of thoſe about him, entered in triumph into *Rome* in a chariot drawn by four white horſes, which no General ever did either before or ſince; for the being drawn by horſes of that colour was eſteemed ſomewhat ſacred, and peculiar to the King and Father of the Gods. This alienated the hearts of the citizens, who were not accuſtomed to ſuch an appearance of pride and grandeur. Another occaſion of diſlike was his oppoſing a law propoſed by the Tribunes of the people for dividing the Senate and people into two parts, one of which ſhould remain at home, and the other remove to *Veii*: the people now grown rich and numerous, eagerly embraced this propoſal; but the Senate and the moſt conſiderable perſons ſaw with great concern theſe proceedings

of the Tribunes, which they imagined tend
to the deſtruction of *Rome*; they therefore a
plied to *Camillus*, who, fearing the event, if
ſhould be ſubmitted to the votes of the peop
continually invented new objections and di
culties. But the greateſt cauſe of the peopl
hatred againſt him, aroſe from the tenth of t
ſpoils. It ſeems, as he went to the ſiege
Veii, he had made a vow to *Apollo*, that if
took the city, he would dedicate the tenth of
ſpoils to that God: but whether he was lo
to diſoblige the ſoldiers, or had forgotten
vow, he neglected to take it from them wh
the city was taken. But afterwards, when
had laid down his authority, he brought
affair before the Senate, who decreed the
ligation to be in force, while the Prieſts
nounced the anger of the Gods if the vow
not performed. As it was difficult for ev
one to produce all he had taken, in order
a new diviſion, it was ordained that every
upon oath ſhould deliver up the tenth par
his gain: this ſeeming very ſevere and opp
ſive to the poor ſoldiers, it occaſioned
clamours and tumults; but every one ha
brought in his proportion, it was decreed,
out of the value of it a bowl of maſſy
ſhould be made, and ſent to *Delphi*.
was, however, ſo ſcarce in the city, tha
magiſtrates knew not where to get a ſuffi
quantity: but while they were in this
plexity, the *Roman* ladies meeting together
nerouſly contributed their ornaments of go

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e amount of eight talents *. This act of enerosity the Senate rewarded, by ordering, at from thenceforward funeral orations ſhould e uſed at the interment of women as well as men.

The Tribunes of the people again reſumed e ſubject of a law for the diviſion of the city; t a ſtop was put to their debates by a war eaking out againſt the *Faliſci*, on which *Camillus* was nominated military Tribune with five ociates. He then marched with his forces o the territories of the *Faliſci*, and laid ſiege *Falerii* †, a well fortified city, plentifully plied with all the neceſſaries of war. The *lerians* confiding in the ſtrength of their city, ich was extremely well fortified, were ſo le concerned at the ſiege, that all but thoſe o guarded the walls, lived as in times of ce; and the boys not only went regularly ſchool, but were led by their maſter to take quent walks, for the ſake of exerciſe, about walls of the place; for the *Falerians*, like *Grecians*, uſed one public ſchool, that their ldren being brought up together, might early rn to converſe and be familiar with each er.

This ſchool-maſter deſigning to betray the *erians* by delivering up their children, led m out every day, at firſt but a little way hout the walls, and afterwards by degrees

* This was at that time an almoſt incredible , eight talents of gold amounting to about 000*l.* ſterling.

† Now called *Santa Maria di Falari.*

drew them farther and farther, till by practice he had made them bold and fearleſs, as if no danger had been near: but at laſt, having got them all together, he brought them to the out-guard of the *Romans*, and deſired to be led to *Camillus*. When he and his pupils were brought before him, he told that great man, that he was the maſter and teacher of thoſe children, but preferring his favour to all obligations, he was come to deliver up his charge to him, and in that the whole city. *Camillus* ſtruck with horror at his treachery, turned to the ſtanders-by, and cried, "How terrible a thing is war, the "ſole cauſe of ſuch injuſtice and violence! "But to good men there are certain laws even "in war itſelf; and victory is not to be pur-"ſued with ſuch eagerneſs as to incur the re-"proach of having gained it by baſe and un-"worthy actions; for it becomes a good gene-"ral to rely on his own virtues, and not on "the treachery of others." He then cauſed him to be ſtripped, and to have his hands tied behind him; and arming the ſcholars with rods, he ordered them to drive him back into the city and to ſcourge him all the way.

By this time the *Falerians* were acquainted with the ſchool-maſter's treachery; and the city, as was natural in ſuch a calamity, was filled with cries and lamentations, the principal inhabitants of both ſexes running about with all the marks of diſtraction: but when they beheld the boys advancing towards the gate, whipping their maſter who came naked and bound, and heard them call *Camillus* their father, their ſaviour,

ſaviour, and their deliverer, their grief was turned into tranſports of joy, and they were ſo charmed with this uncommon inſtance of juſtice and virtue, that they unanimouſly reſolved to conclude a peace with ſuch generous enemies, and immediately ſent Ambaſſadors to this great Commander to reſign whatever they had to his diſpoſal. *Camillus* ſent them to *Rome*, where being conducted to the ſenate, they ſpoke to this purpoſe: That the *Romans*, preferring juſtice to victory, had taught them rather to embrace ſubmiſſion than liberty; for they could not think, they were ſo inferior in ſtrength, as they acknowledged they were in virtue. The Senate remitted the management of the whole affair to *Camillus*, who after taking a ſum of money of the *Falerians*, and concluding a peace with the whole nation of the *Faliſci*, returned to *Rome*.

The ſoldiers were now greatly offended at their having been deprived of the opportunity of plundering the city, and repreſented *Camillus* as one who maliciouſly oppoſed the intereſt of the poor. At length the Tribunes of the people again propoſed the law for dividing the city, and *Camillus* again appeared the moſt forward in oppoſing it, and by his authority perſuaded the people, even againſt their inclinations to reject the law. But his oppoſition to the caprices of the multitude rendered him generally hated. Some time after an accuſation was preferred againſt him, at a time when he was deeply afflicted for the death of his ſon; for being naturally of a mild and tender diſpo-

ſition, he grieved immoderately for his loſs. His accuſer was *Lucius Apuleius*, who charged him with having certain braſs gates, part of the *Tuſcan* ſpoils, and it plainly appeared that the people were ready to take hold of the leaſt pretence to condemn him. He therefore aſſembling his friends and fellow-ſoldiers, beſought them not to ſuffer him to be unjuſtly cruſhed under falſe accuſations, and to be made the ſcorn of his enemies. His friends told him, that as to the ſentence, they did not ſee how they could help him, however, they would contribute to pay his fine. But not being able to endure the indignity of being condemned, he reſolved to retire, and go into exile. Therefore taking leave of his wife and ſon, he went ſilently to the gate of the city*, were turning about, and ſtretching out his hands to the Capitol, he prayed to the Gods, That if without his fault, and merely through the malice of the people, he was driven into baniſhment, the *Romans* might ſoon have cauſe for repentance, and that all mankind might perceive that they needed his aſſiſtance, and longed for his return

Having thus, like *Achilles*, left his imprecations on the citizens, he went into baniſhment, ſo that not appearing to make his defence, he was condemned in the ſum of 15,000 aſſes, each aſs being the tenth part of a ſilver coin,

* This happened four years after the reduction of *Falerii*, in the 365th year of *Rome*, and the 388th before the *Chriſtian* æra.

which

which for that reaſon was called a denarius *. However there is no *Roman* who does not believe that *Camillus*'s curſes were followed by a ſpeedy judgment from heaven, which proved the means of greatly encreaſing his glory. Perhaps this was merely the work of fortune; or perhaps there is ſome God whoſe office it is to take care that ingratitude ſhall not oppreſs virtue with impunity. Juſt before *Camillus* went into exile, *Marcus Cedicius*, who was eſteemed a man of probity and veracity, reported to the military Tribunes, that the night before, walking in the ſtreet, he was called by a loud voice; yet turning about he ſaw nobody, but heard a voice more than human, which ſaid, "Go, "*Marcus Cidicius*, and early in the morning tell "the military Tribunes, that they are ſuddenly to expect the *Gauls*." But the Tribunes laughed at the ſtory, and *Camillus*'s diſgrace followed ſoon after.

At this time the *Gauls* were beſieging *Cluſium* a *Tuſcan* city †, and the inhabitants applying to the *Romans* for ſuccour, they ſent letters and ambaſſadors to the barbarians. Theſe Ambaſſadors, who were of the family of the *Fabii*, which was one of the moſt illuſtrious in the city, were received very courteouſly by the *Gauls*, who deſiſting from an aſſault they were then making on the walls came to a conference with them. The Ambaſſadors then aſked, What

* The denarius was worth about 8d of our money.

† Now called *Chiuſi*.

injury

injury they had received from the *Cluſians* that they thus laid ſiege to the city? To which *Brennius*, King of the *Gauls*, ſmiling replied, "The *Cluſians* who poſſeſs an extenſive territory, though they are able to cultivate only a ſmall part of it, injure us in not being willing to reſign any of it to us, who are ſtrangers, poor, and numerous. In the ſame manner, O *Romans*, were you formerly injured by the *Albans*, *Fidenates* and *Capenates*; as you were lately, by the *Veians* and *Capenates*, the *Faliſci* and *Volſci*. If theſe do not yield you a part of what they poſſeſs, you declare war againſt them, you make them ſlaves, you ravage their country, and ruin their cities. In this you follow the moſt ancient of all laws, which gives to the ſtrong the poſſeſſions of the weak. Ceaſe therefore to pity the *Cluſians*, whom we beſiege, leſt you teach the *Gauls* to be kind and compaſſionate to thoſe who are oppreſſed by you." The Ambaſſadors having received this anſwer, entered the city, and encouraging the inhabitants to make a ſally, put themſelves at their head. The fight grew hot near the walls, when *Quintus Ambuſtus*, one of the *Fabii*, ſetting ſpurs to his horſe, engaged with a *Gaul* of remarkable ſtature, and having killed him, was going to ſtrip him, when he was known by *Brennius*, who invoking the Gods to be witneſſes, that contrary to the law of nations, he who came as an Ambaſſador had committed acts of hoſtility, he drew off his men, and led his army directly towards

wards *Rome*. But to ſhew that he acted with moderation, and was not deſirous of an open rupture, he ſent an herald to demand the offender; and in the mean time marched leiſurely on.

The herald being arrived at *Rome*, and the Senate aſſembled, the prieſts called *Feciales* among many others, exclaimed loudly againſt the *Fabii*, and repreſenting the action as contrary to religion, adviſed the Senate, to appeaſe the anger of the Gods, by delivering up the guilty. But the Senate referring the affair to the judgment of the people, they ſhewed ſo little regard to theſe religious ſcruples, and the ſentiments of the Senate, that they choſe *Fabius* and his brethren military Tribunes*.

At hearing this the *Gauls* were greatly enraged, and haſtened their march. The inhabitants of the places through which they paſſed, were filled with terror and conſternation at their numbers, and began to look upon their lands as already loſt; but without committing any act of hoſtility in the countries through which they marched, whenever they paſſed by any city, they cried out, they were going to *Rome*; that the *Romans* only were their enemies, and that they took all others for their friends. While the barbarians were ruſhing forwards with ſuch eagerneſs, the military Tribunes took the field, with an army not inferior to the *Gauls* in number; for they had no

* It is evident that in this affair, the *Roman* people, and not the *Gauls*, acted like barbarians.

leſs

leſs than 40,000 foot; but moſt of them were raw ſoldiers. With this army the Tribunes encamped eleven miles from *Rome*, near the place where the river *Allia* falls into the *Tyber*. There the *Gauls* coming upon them, they engaged without order or diſcipline, and were defeated. The left wing being driven into the river, periſhed; but the right declining the ſhock, received leſs damage, and getting to the tops of the hills, fled to *Rome*; the enemy were wearied with ſlaughter, and many who eſcaped, imagining *Rome* was loſt, fled by night to *Veii*. This day was afterwards called *the battle of Allia*, and placed in the claſs of thoſe unfortunate days, on which no conſiderable affair was undertaken.

So great was the terror ſpread in the city by thoſe who eſcaped from the battle, that if the *Gauls* had immediately purſued them thither, nothing could have prevented *Rome* from being entirely deſtroyed, and thoſe within it from being put to the ſword: but not imagining their victory to be ſo conſiderable, they ſtaid to give a looſe to their joy, and ſpending their time in feaſting and dividing the ſpoil, they gave ſuch as were for leaving the city an opportunity to make their eſcape. Thoſe who reſolved to ſtay at *Rome*, betook themſelves to the Capitol, which they fortified with ſtrong ramparts, and furniſhed with arms and proviſions, and there they depoſited moſt of their holy things: but the Veſtal Virgins fled with the ſacred fire, and ſome holy relics, proceeding along

along by the river ſide, where *Lucius Albinus*, a plebeian, who, among others, was making his eſcape, overtook them in a cart, in which were his wife, children and goods; when cauſing his wife and children to come down, and throwing out his effects, he placed the holy virgins in the carriage, that they might eſcape to ſome of the *Grecian* cities. But the Prieſts and the moſt ancient of the Senators, who had been honoured with the conſulſhip and with triumphs, could not think of leaving the city; but putting on their ſacred veſtments and robes of ſtate, offered up their prayers to the gods, and devoting themſelves for their country *, ſat down in their ivory chairs in the forum, and in this poſture waited the event.

On the third day after the battle, *Brennius* appeared with his army before the city; and finding the gates wide open, and no guards upon the walls, he at firſt ſuſpected ſome ſtratagem; but entering at the *Colline* gate, he took poſſeſſion of the city, and having placed a ſtrong guard about the capitol, went to the forum, where he was ſtruck with amazement at the ſight of ſo many men ſitting in ſuch order and ſilence, who neither roſe at the approach of their enemies, or ſo much as changed colour, or ſhewed the leaſt alteration of countenance; but without fear or concern leaned upon their ſtaves, and ſat looking at each other. The

* The *Romans* imagined that the voluntary ſacrifice made by the Generals of their lives, occaſioned diſorder and confuſion to the enemy.

Gauls

Gauls for a long time ſtood wondering at the ſtrangeneſs of this ſpectacle; for ſeized with awe at the majeſty of their appearance, they did not dare ſo much as approach or touch them. But at length, one bolder than the reſt, drew near to *Manius Papirius*, and ſtroaking his long beard, *Papirius* ſtruck him with his ſtaff on the head, and wounded him, at which the barbarian being enraged, drew his ſword and ſlew him. This ſeemed a ſignal for the ſlaughter; for the other *Gauls* following his example, killed the reſt, and continuing their rage, diſpatched all others that came in their way. They then pillaged the houſes for many days together, after which they ſet fire to them. Mean while thoſe who kept the Capitol paid no regard to their ſummons to ſurrender; but vigorouſly defending themſelves, repulſed the attacks of the beſiegers. This provoked them to deſtroy the whole city, and to put to the ſword all that fell into their hands.

When the ſiege of the Capitol had laſted ſome time, the *Gauls* began to be in want of proviſions; therefore dividing their forces, part of them ſtaid with the King at the ſiege, while the reſt went in different parties to forage in the country, deſtroying all the towns and villages to which they came; and to ſuch confidence were they raiſed by ſucceſs, that they careleſsly rambled about without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger. The largeſt and beſt diſciplined body of their forces went to the city of *Ardea*, where *Camillus* ſince his baniſhment had

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had lived as a private perſon: but now his ſpirit was again rouſed, and perceiving that the *Ardeans* were in greater want of courage than of men, he at firſt began to talk with the people, telling them that it was glorious even with danger to repel a foreign and barbarous enemy, whoſe end in conquering was to lay waſte and deſtroy; but if they would be reſolute and courageous, he would give them an opportunity of conquering without the leaſt hazard. Finding the young men pleaſed with this diſcourſe, he went to the governors of the city, and having alſo perſuaded them, he muſtered all that could bear arms, and drew them up within the walls, that they might not be perceived by the enemy. The *Gauls* having ſcoured the country and returned loaded with plunder, lay negligently encamped in the plains; and night coming on when they were intoxicated with wine, brought upon them a deep ſleep. *Camillus* being informed of theſe particulars by his ſpies, drew out the *Ardeans*, and in the dead of night marched to their camp, where he commanded his trumpets to ſound, and his men to ſhout: but the *Gauls* were ſo overcharged with wine that all the noiſe of the aſſailants could hardly awake them: a few whom fear had rendered ſober, got into ſome order, and defending themſelves, died with their ſwords in their hands: but the greateſt part of them buried in wine and ſleep, were ſurprized without their arms and ſlain without offering reſiſtance. A few by the advantage of the night, eſcaped from the camp, but

were the next day picked up by the horſe ſent in the purſuit.

The fame of this victory ſoon flew through the neighbouring cities, and every where animated the youth to go and join *Camillus*, eſpecially the *Romans* that had taken refuge at *Veii* after the battle of *Allia*, who cried out, "Of "what a commander have the Gods bereaved "*Rome*, in order to honour *Ardea* with his ac- "tions, while the city which gave birth to "that great man is now no more, and we live "within ſtrange walls, and ſitting ſtill, ſee all "*Italy* ruined before our eyes! Let us demand "back our General; or go to him with wea- "pons in our hands; for he is no longer an "exile, nor we citizens, ſince we have no "country but what is in the poſſeſſion of the "enemy." They therefore ſent deputies to *Camillus* to deſire him to become their General. But he let them know, that he would not accept of their offer, till the citizens in the Capitol had confirmed their choice; for while they were in being, he ſhould conſider them as the body of the commonwealth, and readily obey them.

They could not forbear admiring his modeſty and virtue; but there was nobody to carry the news to the Capitol: it even ſeemed impoſſible to enter a citadel ſo cloſely blocked up by the enemy who were maſters of the city. However a young *Roman* named *Pontius Cominus* undertook that important, but dangerous commiſſion. Supported by corks he ſwam down the *Tiber*, and paſſing through thoſe parts

of

of the city where he heard the leaſt noiſe, came to the gate *Carmentalis*, where the ſilence was greateſt, and on the ſide of which the aſcent to the Capitol was ſteepeſt. He clambered up the rock without being perceived, and with difficulty arrived at the poſt of the firſt ſentinels, who conducted him to the magiſtrates. The Senate immediately aſſembled; he informed them of the victory obtained by *Camillus*, which they had not heard of before, and told them of the proceedings of the ſoldiers. Upon this the ſenate declared *Camillus* Dictator. *Pontius* returned by the ſame way with equal ſucceſs, and delivered to the *Romans* the decree of the Senate, which they received with acclamations of joy. *Camillus* now joining them, found 20,000 of them in arms, and with theſe forces, added to thoſe of the confederates he brought with him, which were more in number, he prepared to attack the enemy.

But to return to what paſſed at *Rome*. Some of the *Gauls* going at night by the place where *Pontius* had climbed up to the Capitol, obſerved the prints of his hands and feet, and the moſs that grew to the rock torn off; this being told to the King, a large party of the *Gauls*, at the dead of night began to climb up the rock, with the utmoſt ſilence, and though it was very ſteep and craggy, the foremoſt reached the top without being heard: they were even ready to take poſſeſſion of the wall, and to fall upon the guards, who were faſt aſleep: but the ſacred geeſe kept near the temple of *Juno*, which from the ſcarcity of proviſions were half ſtarved, ſud-

denly ran up and down, and with their cackling gave the alarm. The barbarians perceiving themſelves diſcovered, began the aſſault with great noiſe. The *Romans* ſnatched up the firſt weapons that came to hand; and *Manlius*, a man of conſular dignity, diſtinguiſhed by his ſtrength and courage, firſt made head againſt them, and engaging with two of the enemy at once, cut off the right hand of one, who was lifting up his pole-ax to ſtrike; and runing his target full in the face of the other, tumbled him headlong down the rock: * then mounting the rampart, and being immediately ſeconded by thoſe who flew to his aſſiſtance, drove down the reſt of them.

The *Romans* having thus eſcaped this danger, they early in the morning threw the Captain of the watch down the rock on the heads of their enemies, and then rewarded *Manlius*, by preſenting him as much as every one had for his daily allowance, which was half a pound of bread, and about half a pint of wine. The affairs of the *Gauls* now grew daily worſe: the fear of *Camillus* preventing their foraging, they were in want of proviſions; the ſtench of the bodies that lay unburied, was extremely offenſive; and being lodged among the ruins,

* It is remarkable that the *Tarpeian* rock, once ſo lofty, and ſo difficult of aſcent, is now of a very inconſiderable height, and that *Rome* in general appears much more level, and in a higher ſituation than formerly; the natural reaſons of which may be ſeen in the ingenious Mr. *Addiſon's Travels*. See *The World Diſplay'd*, Vol. xix. p. 113, 114.

the

the aſhes heated by the ſun, and blown about by the wind, cauſed a dry and peſtilential air; which was the more inſupportable, as they were accuſtomed to live in a cold and mountainous country. Their ſpirits were likewiſe broke by the tediouſneſs of the ſiege, which had laſted ſix months; and the mortality was ſo great, that they left off burying their dead. Mean while the famine alſo encreaſed among the beſieged, who being unable to ſend to *Camillus*, and not knowing what he was doing, were in a deſponding condition. At length the *Gauls* agreed that on their receiving a thouſand pounds weight of gold, they would immediately quit the city. This agreement was mutually confirmed by oath: but the gold being brought, the *Gauls* uſed falſe dealing in the weights, and even held down the balance, which being reſented by the *Romans*, *Brennius* in an inſulting manner, pulled off his ſword and belt, and threw them both into the ſcale, crying, Woe to the conquered! While they were thus wrangling, *Camillus* arrived at the gates, and hearing what they were doing, commanded his troops to follow him ſlowly, and himſelf with a choſen body haſtened to the place of treaty, where the *Romans* receiving him with profound ſilence and reſpect, as Dictator, he took out the gold, and commanded the *Gauls* to depart with their weights and ſcales, adding, That it was cuſtomary with the *Romans* to deliver their country with *iron* and not with *gold*. *Brennius* then began to rage and complain of the injuſtice done him in breaking

the contract: but *Camillus* replied, that it was illegally made; for he being Dictator, there was no other magiſtrate, and the *Gauls* had contracted with thoſe who had no power to contract. At this both ſides took to their arms, and a ſmart engagement enſued among the ruined houſes: till *Brennius* ſuddenly calling off his men, retired with them, and leaving the city in the night, encamped at about eight miles diſtance. *Camillus* came up with him as ſoon as day appeared, when a ſharp engagement enſued, which continued a long time; till at length the *Gauls* were defeated, and their camp taken: part of thoſe who fled were cut off by the purſuers, and the reſt being diſperſed, were deſtroyed by the people of the neighbouring towns.

Thus was *Rome* recovered, after it had been ſeven months in the hands of the barbarians. *Camillus* triumphed for thus delivering his country, and they who had lived abroad, together with their wives and children, on this occaſion returned with him to the city; while they who had been ſhut up in the Capitol, and were ready to periſh with hunger, went out to meet them, embracing each other, and ſhedding tears of joy at their deliverance.

Camillus having ſacrificed to the Gods, and purified the city, erected a temple to *Aius Loquutius* the *Speaker* or *Caller*, on the ſpot where *Marcus Cedicius* heard the voice that foretold the coming of the barbarian army. It was extremely difficult to diſcover the places of the ancient temples, however, this was accompliſhed by

by the zeal of *Camillus*, and the inceſſant labours of the prieſts, But when they came to rebuild the city, the multitude whoſe health was broken, and their fortunes ruined, were ſeized with deſpondency, and inſenſibly turned their thoughts towards *Veii*, a city ready built, and provided with all accommodations. Thoſe who ſought to be popular, now took advantage of this diſpoſition, and began again to caſt the bittereſt reflections on *Camillus*. The ſenate, fearing a ſedition, would not ſuffer him to reſign his authority within the year, tho' he was very deſirous of doing it, and though no Dictator had ever held it above ſix months. *Camillus* endeavoured to perſuade them not to let the name of *Roman* be loſt; not to forſake their gods, nor to ſuffer the ſacred fire kept by the Veſtals to be extinguiſhed. He at length referred the affair to the ſenate, and called on *Lucius Lucretius*, whoſe place it was to vote firſt, to give his opinion: but juſt as he was going to begin, an accident, had greater weight than all *Camillus*'s arguments and entreaties: for ſilence was no ſooner made, and *Lucretius* ready to ſpeak, when a Captain paſſing by the ſenate-houſe, leading his company off the day guard, called aloud to the enſign-bearer to *ſtay* and *fix his ſtandard*; *for that was the beſt place to ſtay in*. *Lucretius* inſtantly embracing the omen, adored the Gods, and gave his opinion for ſtaying, as did all the reſt, and even the common people being now changed, encouraged each other, and applied with ſuch eagerneſs to the work, that 'tis ſaid the

the city was completely rebuilt within the compaſs of a year.

The *Romans* had ſcarcely finiſhed the city, when they were engaged in a new war: the *Volſci*, the *Æqui*, and *Latins*, all at once invaded their territories; and the *Tuſcans* laid ſiege to *Sutrium*, a confederate city of the *Romans*. Even the military Tribunes who were encamped with the army about the hill *Marcius*, were cloſely beſieged by the *Latins*, and being in danger of loſing their camp, ſent to *Rome*, on which *Camillus* was a third time choſen Dictator. He armed not only the youth; but thoſe whom age had exempted from ſervice, and taking a large compaſs behind the mount undiſcovered by the enemy, encamped behind them, and then by many fires informed the Tribunes of his arrival. The *Latins* thus encompaſſed, ſtrengthened their works, reſolving to wait for the freſh ſupplies they expected: but *Camillus* fearing that if this ſhould happen, he himſelf might be reduced to the ſame ſtreights as they, by being beſieged in his turn, reſolved to loſe no time; finding therefore that their rampart was of timber, and that at ſun-riſing a ſtrong wind conſtantly blew from the mountains, he prepared combuſtible matter, and about day-break drew up his forces, ſome of which he commanded to aſſault the enemy with darts, and with much noiſe, in the oppoſite quarter, while he, with thoſe who were to fling in the fire, marched towards the mountains. The ſkirmiſh being begun, the ſun being alſo riſen, and a violent wind blow-

blowing from the mountains, he gave the ſignal, and a vaſt quantity of fire being thrown in, the ramparts were inſtantly in a blaze, and the flames ſpread on all ſides; when the *Latins* having nothing either to keep it off, or to extinguiſh it, were crowded together, and at laſt forced to fall into the hands of the *Romans*, who ſtood drawn up in arms before the works; a very few of the enemy eſcaped, and the *Romans* extinguiſhed the fire in order to gain the plunder.

Camillus then leaving his ſon *Lucius*, to guard the priſoners and ſecure the plunder, paſſed into the enemy's country, and having taken the city of the *Æqui*, and reduced the *Volſci*, he marched towards *Sutrium*; but the inhabitants having already ſurrendered to the *Tuſcans*, met him with only their garments about them, leading their wives and children, and bewailing their misfortunes. *Camillus* was deeply affected with the ſight of theſe miſerable objects, and obſerving that the ſoldiers wept at hearing their affecting entreaties, reſolved not to defer his revenge, conjecturing that the *Tuſcans* having juſt taken ſo rich and plentiful a city, he ſhould find them negligent and unguarded. Indeed he was not miſtaken; for he came up to the very gates, and without being diſcovered took poſſeſſion of the walls, which had not a man to guard them; they being all drinking and making merry: nay, when they perceived that he had ſeized the city, they were ſo overchaged with meat and wine, that few were able even to endeavour to eſcape; but ſhame-

ſhamefully waiting in the houſes, were either killed, or obliged to ſurrender to the conqueror. Thus was *Sutrium* twice taken in one day, and for this train of victories *Camillus* had the honour of a triumph.

The moſt conſiderable perſon who envied the glory of *Camillus*, was *Marcus Manlius*, who for repulſing the *Gauls* from the Capitol obtained the name of *Capitolinus*. Aſpiring to raiſe himſelf to the head of the commonwealth, he took the uſual methods of ſuch as aim at the ſupreme power; he endeavoured to gain the people: ſome he defended againſt their creditors by pleading their cauſes, and others he reſcued by force, not ſuffering the law to proceed againſt them: by this means he got great numbers of indigent people about him, who raiſed tumults in the Forum, and ſtruck terror into the principal citizens. In this exigence a Dictator was choſen, who committed *Manlius* to priſon: but the people put themſelves into mourning, which had never been done but in the greateſt public calamities. The Senate now fearing an inſurrection, cauſed him to be releaſed: but he was no ſooner at liberty, than he again filled the city with ſedition; on which *Camillus* was choſen military Tribune, and a day appointed for *Manlius* to anſwer his accuſations: but whenever he was brought to his trial in the Forum, he ſtretched out his hands towards the Capitol, and weeping recalled his paſt actions to the remembrance of the people. Thus were they unable to execute the law in that place, where the view of the

the Capitol perpetually reminded the citizens how nobly he had defended it. Upon this *Camillus* removed the judgment-ſeat without the gate to the *Peteline* grove, where the Capitol not being within ſight, his accuſer went on with his charge, and being found guilty was then carried to the Capitol, and thrown down the *Tarpeian* rock. The *Romans* alſo razed his houſe; built there a temple to the goddeſs *Moneta*, and ordained that for the future no Patrician ſhould ever dwell in the Capitol.

Camillus being a ſixth time elected Tribune, choſe to decline the office on account of his age and ill ſtate of health: but the people would admit of no excuſe, ſaying they did not require him to fight, but only wanted his counſel and conduct. This prevailed on him to undertake the command, and he ſet out with *Lucius Furius*, one of his fellow Tribunes againſt the *Prænestines* and *Volſci*, who with a great army laid waſte the countries of the *Roman* allies. He encamped at a ſmall diſtance from the enemy, with the reſolution to protract the war, that he might have time to recover his health: but *Lucius* his collegue, animated by the deſire of glory, was impatient to give battle, and inſpired the other officers with the ſame ardour: *Camillus* now fearing that he ſhould be charged with envy in depriving that young officer of the glory of a victory, conſented, though unwillingly, that *Lucius* ſhould attack the enemy. while he, on account of his illneſs, ſtaid behind with a few ſoldiers in the camp. *Lucius* was however, defeated; when *Camillus* perceiving that

that the *Romans* were put to flight, was unable to contain himſelf; but leaping out of bed, ran with the ſervants and the retinue he had about him to the gates of the camp, and making his way through thoſe that fled, preſſed on with fury to oppoſe the purſuers. Thoſe who had entered the camp turned back and followed him, and thoſe who were running towards it, gathered about him, and making head againſt the enemy, exhorted each other not to forſake their general. Thus was the enemy ſtopped in their purſuit. The next day *Camillus* renewed the battle, routed them, and following cloſe thoſe who fled, entered with them into their camp, and ſlew the greateſt part of them.

Camillus afterwards hearing that *Satrium* was taken by the *Tuſcans*, and the inhabitants, who were *Romans*, put to the ſword, he ſent the main body of his forces to *Rome*, and taking with him the moſt vigorous and reſolute, ſuddenly fell upon the *Tuſcans*, who were in poſſeſſion of the city, and having put many to the ſword, and driven out the reſt returned to *Rome* with great ſpoils; after having thus done honour to the good ſenſe of the *Roman* people, who had preferred a brave and wiſe commander, that through age and ſickneſs deſired to be excuſed, to younger men who were ambitious of the command.

Soon after news being brought that the *Tuſculans* had revolted, they gave *Camillus* the charge of reducing them, with the liberty of chuſing which of his five collegues he pleaſed to take with him. Every one ſued eagerly for the

the place; but, contrary to the expectation of all, he choſe *Lucius Furius*, who had ſo lately been defeated by hazarding a battle contrary to his judgment. The news that *Camillus* was marching againſt them no ſooner reached the *Tuſcans*, than they artfully ſtrove to take off the ſuſpicion of their revolt. He found in their fields, the huſbandmen and ſhepherds, as in time of profound peace; their gates ſtood wide open, the tradeſmen were buſy in their ſhops, the more wealthy citizens were walking in the public places in their uſual dreſs, and the children went publicly to ſchool; at the ſame time the magiſtrates diligently provided quarters for the *Roman* ſoldiers. Though theſe arts could not impoſe on *Camillus*, it filled him with compaſſion for them as penitents: he commanded them to go to the ſenate, in order to appeaſe their anger, and he himſelf interceded in their behalf. Thus their city was freed from the danger with which it was threatened, and the citizens admitted to the freedom of *Rome*.

Afterwards a great ſedition was raiſed in the city by *Licinius Stolo*, who demanded that one of the conſuls ſhould be elected out of the commons. Tribunes of the people were choſen; but the people oppoſing, with great violence, the election of conſuls, *Camillus* was a fourth time created dictator by the ſenate, though the people were very averſe to it; as was alſo *Camillus* himſelf, who was

ſenſible that he was pitched upon out of envy, that if he prevailed, he might ruin the people; or if he failed, be ruined himſelf. However, when the tribunes of the people intended to propoſe the law, he proclaimed a general muſter, and ſummoning the people from the forum into the field, threatened to fine thoſe who ſhould diſobey: but the tribunes of the people proteſting that they would fine him 50,000 drachmas of ſilver, if he perſiſted in hindering the people from giving their ſuffrages for the law, he, fearing another baniſhment, retired to his houſe, and a few days after reſigned the dictatorſhip, under the pretence of illneſs. Another dictator was however choſen by the ſenate, who giving *Stolo*, the leader of the ſedition, the poſt of general of the horſe, he, to the great mortification of the nobility, cauſed a law to be paſſed, that no perſon whatever ſhould poſſeſs more than five hundred acres of land. *Stolo* was highly elated with this ſucceſs, till a ſhort time after it was diſcovered, that he himſelf poſſeſſed more than he allowed to others, and was obliged to ſuffer the penalties of his own law.

The contention relating to the election of conſuls, the original cauſe of theſe diſſentions, being revived; a ſtop was put to them by their receiving certain intelligence, that the *Gauls* were again marching towards *Rome*, laying waſte all the country through which they paſſed. All parties now uniting, *Camillus*

millus was for the fifth time choſen dictator, who, though near eighty years of age, now readily undertook the charge. Knowing that the force of theſe barbarians lay chiefly in their ſwords, he cauſed iron helmets to be made for moſt of his men, and their wooden ſhields to be encircled with a rim of braſs. He alſo taught his ſoldiers to uſe long javelins in a cloſe engagement. When the *Gauls* had reached the river *Anio* *, dragging after them a heavy camp, and immenſe ſpoils, *Camillus* drew out his forces, and encamped on an hill which had an eaſy aſcent, and many hollow places, wherein the greateſt part of his army might be concealed, and where the few who appeared might be thought to have betaken themſelves to thoſe upper grounds through fear. He even ſuffered the enemy to pillage to his very trenches, keeping quiet within his camp, which was ſtrongly fortified. At laſt finding that part of the enemy were ſcattered abroad in queſt of forage, while the reſt were ſpending their time in drinking and revelling, he ſent out his light-armed ſoldiers before day-break, to harraſs the enemy, and prevent their drawing up in order, and early in the morning drew up the main body of the army in order of battle in the plain, when, contrary to the expectation of the barbarians, they appeared a numerous body full of ardour. The light-armed troops began the

* Now called the *Teverone*.

attack before the *Gauls* could range themſelves, and obliged them to fight in diſorder. *Camillus* in the mean time brought on his heavy armed ſoldiers. The barbarians advanced fiercely to meet them; but the *Romans* received the blows of their ſwords on that part of their javelins which was guarded with iron, when the blades which were thin and made of ſoft metal, bent double in their hands; and beſides, their bucklers grew ſo heavy with the javelins that ſtuck in them, that being forced to quit them, and throw away their own arms, they endeavoured to wreſt the javelins out of the hands of the *Romans*. When the latter perceiving them unarmed, immediately fell upon them with their ſwords, and made a great ſlaughter. The firſt ranks were cut to pieces, and the reſt fled, and diſperſed themſelves over the plain, without any attempt to retire to their camp, which they had taken no care to intrench; ſo ſure did they think themſelves of victory.

This was the laſt of *Camillus*'s military exploits; for the taking of *Velitræ*, was a conſequence of it, and was ſurrendered without oppoſition. But he had ſtill a very painful conflict to ſuſtain at *Rome*. The people returning home elated with their victory, inſiſted with great vehemence, that one of the conſuls ſhould be choſen out of their body. This was ſtrongly oppoſed by the ſenate, who would not permit *Camillus* to lay down the dictatorſhip, hoping, that under the ſhelter of

of his great name and authority, they ſhould ſucceſsfully defend the rights of the patricians. But while *Camillus* was ſitting on the tribunal, diſpatching the affairs of the public, an officer ſent by the tribunes of the people, ordered that great man to riſe and follow him, at the ſame time laying his hand upon him, as if he would ſeize and carry him away. Such a tumult was inſtantly raiſed as was never known there before: ſome about *Camillus* puſhed the officer from the tribunal, while the multitude below called out to him to ſeize the dictator. *Camillus* roſe up, and, attended by the ſenators, went to the ſenate-houſe, but before he entered it, turning towards the capitol, he beſought the gods to bring theſe troubles to a happy concluſion, ſolemnly vowing when they were ended to build a temple to *Concord*. After great debates among the ſenators, the moſt moderate opinion prevailed, and the dictator proclaimed, that of the two conſuls, one of them ſhould be choſen out of the body of the people. The multitude, who were now pleaſed and reconciled to the ſenate, accompanied *Camillus* home with loud acclamations, and aſſembling the next day, they voted, that agreeable to *Camillus*'s vow, a temple ſhould be erected to *Concord*, in view of the forum, and that the whole people of *Rome* ſhould offer ſacrifices, with garlands on their heads. An aſſembly was then held by *Camillus* for the election of conſuls, when *Marcus Æmilius* was choſen from amongſt the

ſenators, and *Lucius Sextus* out of the body of the people.

This was the laſt of *Camillus*'s public tranſactions; for the following year he died of a peſtilential diſeaſe*, which carried off, not only an infinite number of the common people, but moſt of the magiſtrates; yet his loſs was more lamented, than that of all the reſt who fell by this dreadful contagion.

* This happened in the 391ſt year of *Rome*, and the 360th year of our Saviour.

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